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ABSTRACT

In the context of increasing school enrollment, the functioning of the school system and, in particular, the teaching structures of second-cycle secondary education play an essential part in determining the educational, vocational, and social choices of young people. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to define this role and to examine the nature of the principal changes introduced at this level of study in the majority of member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. This is the specific object of this report. Part 1 contains a short, critical analysis of the options now being offered to young people and of methods of transition and choice in regard to such opportunities. Part 2 deals with notable policy measures for improving, renovating, and diversifying present educational options in the light of countries' experience and of elements of the analysis itself. The employment opportunities for young people and the proposals designed to improve conditions of work and of entry into working life for them are mentioned only very briefly as they are the subject of a separate report. (Author/IRT)

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OPTIONS AND CHANGES IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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OPTIONS AND CHANGES
IN UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

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PREFACE

At the present time, many of the OECD Member countries are involved in the structural reform of post-compulsory, or second cycle, secondary education. Such changes as are introduced at this level may be seen as some of the many efforts which national authorities are making to deal with the serious problems facing young people aged 15 or 16 when they finish compulsory schooling. The difficulties which entry into working life presents exacerbate a social situation which is already problematical for certain groups of young people and reflect back upon secondary education, its ends and its responsibilities. Schools have their own internal problems to overcome. They are being called upon to re-organise themselves, to adapt to dynamic social change by introducing new content, new methods or a more adult atmosphere. Can they be asked, in addition, to provide the solutions to problems which are essentially rooted in economic fluctuations and production and employment structures? Such economic effects will not have immediate repercussions. It can broadly be assumed that a reduced number of job opportunities will mean that young people will tend to stay longer in the school system and the need for reform and change in secondary education will be felt more and more urgently.

The scope of these changes is difficult to define. The socio-political context, the roles of the various groups and forces involved, the nature of the political consensus and reticences with regard to this level must be considered before any strategy for changing secondary education can be defined.

The school is now required to play a supporting role in the preparation for active life, social integration and subsequent educational development, rather than attempting to find a balance and precise adjustments between education and employment. Located as they are between basic education and higher education (to follow straight on or to be undertaken at a later stage), second cycle secondary studies are a vital element in new educational models for recurrent education.

Reference to such a model and to wider social and educational objectives reveals inadequacies in existing arrangements and present trends towards the structural reform of secondary education.

During compulsory education or at the end of it, young people are offered (or have imposed upon them) a series of options which

are often both too rigid and too limited. These options reflect a hierarchy of prestige and values which determines the social and professional entry of young people into working life as well as their future professional or educational opportunities.

To what extent do the structural changes which are being discussed in the Member countries attempt to improve these choices, to diversify and extend the range of options by offering combinations of professional, educational, or social activities? To what extent do they seek to modify the ways in which guidance, choice of studies and the transition between school and work or working life actually operate?

This study, which has been prepared by the Secretariat within the framework of the programme of the OECD Education Committee, puts forward some tentative answers to these questions. The basic frame of reference consists of changes which have already taken place or which are planned in the organisation of second cycle studies, as they are formulated in plans for structural reform at the national level.

These structural changes are essential, but not in themselves sufficient pre-conditions, to more fundamental changes in curriculum, teaching methods, and teacher training areas which are the subject of other activities within the educational programme of the Organisation.

The Education Committee, aware of the chosen limits of the problems dealt with in this Secretariat study, which is published on the responsibility of the Secretary-General, hopes that it will contribute to on-going thinking and discussion in the Member countries for the reform of secondary education.

INTRODUCTION

Rapid economic development and certain social trends resulting from it have caused the problem of youth to arise with particular sharpness and to have a considerable impact on the public and governments of all industrially advanced societies(1). A certain repudiation of "currently accepted" social values or standards of behaviour "regarded as valid" was noted in educational institutions (first in universities then in secondary schools) and more recently has occurred in various forms in other institutions (firms and factories and the armed forces) or other sectors of society(2). An abundant and controversial literature has attempted to analyse the reasons for this unrest; sociological studies on youth have outlined "concurrent and complementary" theories which differ according to whether adolescence and youth are conceptually regarded as (a) a phase in the individual life cycle; (b) a social subset, characterised by a certain style of behaviour; (c) as endowed with an incomplete status; (d) as a socially structured generation; (e) as an ideal value concept(3). Later works have shown that such notions rest on a shaky foundation: the concept of adolescence as a particular stage of development is now challenged by one which postulates a much more gradual and continuous development, where regression to earlier stages is always possible and transition from one stage to another is never definitive. At the same time, the global concept of youth from the sociological standpoint appears to have been overtaken by that of a typology of sub-groups and of specific ideologies to which each group is related(4). Such an approach shows the diversity and dissimilarity of adolescent requirements as well as the need to link the study of adolescent problems to an analysis of how society functions as a whole.

1) E.Z. Friedenberg: Coming of Age in America, New York, Vintage Books, 1967.

2) Recent surveys published in the United States by the D. Yankelovitch Institute on "the changing values of youth" show that feelings of anxiety and bitterness predominate more among young workers than among students.

3) L. Rosenmayr: New theoretical approaches to the Sociological study of young people, International Social Science Journal, Vol. 24, No. 2, UNESCO, 1972. p. 216.

4) Adolescence and the secondary school, Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education No. 187, 1973.

Studies dealing with relationships between youth and society begin by showing the ambiguous social status of young people; thus in a given country there may be manifest inconsistencies between the status of workers, students and ordinary citizens. The exercise of civil, penal and family responsibilities occurs at different ages, thus pointing to the lack of co-ordination between legal provisions applying to youth(1). Moreover, longer school attendance tends to delay the entry of young people into working life, the advent of economic independence and the exercise of social responsibilities, whereas physiologically they mature much earlier than in the past, often know more than many adults and increasingly aspire to greater freedom. The growing gap between the capacity to exercise economic or social responsibilities at an earlier age and being maintained in a stage of dependence and segregation from social and political life has done much to isolate young people within the community, distort ideas regarding their future and give rise to uncertainty regarding their ultimate fate as well as to aspirations which are frequently unrealistic or not easily satisfied.

The analysis of the relationships between young people and society also brings to light the fundamental changes which have taken place in the last few years in the aspirations, behaviour and types of socialisation of young people. The traditional role of certain institutions or groups (the family, the church, the working world) has fundamentally altered, whereas others (schools, mass media, peer groups, etc.) are coming to occupy an increasingly important place in the learning, communication and socialisation process of young people. It is difficult to state clearly the responsibilities of each of these groups. The evidence shows that in the context of increasing school enrolment the school tends to become the dominant factor in the socialisation process and the demands made upon it in this context are becoming more and more pressing. At the same time, however, it seems that this role is becoming increasingly difficult to fulfil if one may judge by the indifference or restlessness of some pupils and teachers and the grievances and criticisms to which the school is subject.

Such criticisms are directed at its organisation and internal workings, the options offered, the nature of what is taught and the values transmitted, the methods used and its relationships with the outside world. They also concern the functions which the school must or should fulfil, for example to develop the personalities of individuals and enable them to master the problems confronting them in life; to reduce inequality among individuals and to prepare them

1) UNESCO: Rights and Responsibilities of Young People. Educational Studies and Documents, No. 6, 1972.

for working life and social responsibilities. Such ideas are often based on the view that the issue is one for the school alone and that it is entirely and solely responsible for achieving these objectives.

These criticisms should most certainly not be neglected and should be taken into consideration by the national authorities responsible for changes in the education system. There is, however, a fundamental question to be asked about the limits of the responsibilities and functions which can be fulfilled by the school and the complementary roles of other social institutions which the school will never be in a position to replace. The most significant and controversial example of this is the several responsibilities of the school and the working world as regards the preparation of young people for and their entry into working life. In this area, where there are more and more difficulties, it is essential that not only the nature of changes in teaching and training structures as well as those in production and employment be defined, but also that new options which combine or alternate study and work and other social and cultural activities of young people be envisaged.

The definition of the ends which the school system has in view and the planning of new teaching structures or new options beyond compulsory schooling - an examination of which forms the subject of this report - should presumably be analysed within a much broader framework, since:

i) It is becoming increasingly evident that the present difficulties facing educational institutions (the "school crisis"), which call for structural changes and diversified options, can only be analysed in terms of youth's place in society, the role it will have to play in the community and what is commonly known as the "youth crisis" or "student unrest".

ii) Measures which can improve the integration of young people into society cannot be considered with reference to educational institutions only and therefore do not come under educational policy alone, but under employment, cultural, recreational and other policies as well. They must be elaborated in the broader context of a social policy for youth which will co-ordinate and embody various complementary measures and facilitate forms of transition between different social activities (school education, vocational training, employment, etc.) or between the social institutions concerned.

iii) Lastly, the present aspirations and motivations of young people, and therefore the choices which they make among the various community activities available to them, should be structurally analysed in terms of existing relationships between such activities and the appropriate institutions: the selection and pursuit of certain studies depend on the

employment opportunities which are available; methods of occupational or social integration depend closely on the type of training acquired, etc. Any separate analysis of the options offered to young people must therefore give way to a more global type of analysis capable of accounting for these interrelationships.

The last years of compulsory education and the period which follows are a decisive stage in the life of adolescents during which they have to make important, often irrevocable choices which determine, to a large extent, their subsequent "opportunities", their future "social and occupational status" and the type and level of their education. For these reasons, this report is based on an analysis of the range of existing (or desirable) options and the choices offered (or to be offered) to young people, rather than on a study of some age group (16 to 19 years for example) or a particular type of school, such as the secondary school.

Indeed, in the context of increasing school enrolment, the functioning of the school system and in particular the teaching structures of second cycle secondary education play an essential part in determining the educational, vocational and social choices of young people. It seemed appropriate therefore to define this role and to examine the nature of the principal changes introduced at this level of studies in the majority of Member countries. This is the specific object of the report which offers:

- Part I, containing a short, critical analysis of the options now being offered to young people, and of methods of transition and choice in regard to such opportunities;
- Part II, dealing with notable policy measures for improving, renovating and diversifying present educational options, in the light of countries' experience and elements of the analysis itself.

The employment opportunities for young people, and the proposals designed to improve conditions of work and of entry into working life for them are mentioned only very briefly in this report. These subjects are analysed in a report prepared within the framework of one of the activities of the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee(1). The studies carried out within the framework of these two activities should make it possible to deal with almost all the options offered to young people and the political decisions made on their behalf, in

1) The Entry of Young People into Working Life, OECD, Paris, to be published in 1976.

the light of the general guidelines laid down by the Secretary-General's Ad Hoc Group on the Relations between Education and Employment(1).

In the present report a whole series of studies carried out within the framework of the programmes of work of the Education Committee and of CERI is referred to. References will be made in particular to work carried out as part of the activities dealing with the future structures of post-secondary education(2), teacher policies(3), the study of the relations between the school and the community(4) and between education, inequality and life chances(5).

1) Education and Working Life in Modern Society, Report of the Secretary-General's Ad Hoc Group on the relations between education and employment, OECD Paris, 1975.

2) Reports submitted to the "Conference on Future Structures of Post-secondary Education", (June 1973).

3) Report submitted to the "Conference on Teacher Policies", (November 1974).

4) The School and the Community: OECD-CERI, 1975.

5) Report submitted to the "Seminar on Education, Inequality and Life Chances", OECD Paris, 1975.

Part I

EXISTING OPPORTUNITIES BEYOND COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND THEIR LIMITATIONS

The traditional organisation of all educational systems, which was based simply on a primary-secondary-higher education sequence (corresponding to a childhood adolescence-young adulthood sequence), was radically altered by expanded school enrolments and ensuing reforms. Such a trend especially affected the goals of secondary education. Reforms at this level were the subject of heated debate, because the aims of the traditional secondary school were called into question. In the context of generally widespread secondary education (or at least the first few years of it), the function of differentiation or selection of adolescents is increasingly difficult to reconcile with objectives such as equality of opportunity and individual fulfilment. Unlike primary school - or the single basic school - the secondary school must perform several functions, which remain sharply differentiated, and undertake a 'certain selection' of adolescents. For each generation or individual it is a 'place for orientation' or a 'decision-making area'; one which is all the more important as the educational or vocational choices made at this level influence, and even determine, most of the future 'occupational, social or economic positions' held by each individual.

The available opportunities are easy to identify since the range of choice is fairly limited and much the same for all Member countries, although the chances of making some particular choice vary considerably or depend on decision-making processes which differ considerably from country to country. The end of compulsory education thus offers a specific alternative choice which adolescents will be faced with throughout their post-compulsory education, i.e. to continue with some type of study or to leave school, or more generally whether or not to remain committed to the educational process. Each component of the alternative is moreover associated with more specific types of choice:

- whether in the first case to undertake a particular type of long or short course; full or part time; general, technical or vocational; leading or not leading to post-secondary level;

- whether in the second case to take up or seek paid full-time employment; acquire a specific type of on-the-job training; engage in some social or household activity which is or is not remunerated; undertake some marginal or temporary type of work; or not work at all.
- Lastly there are certain possibilities of combining such choices, in particular as between full-time but especially part-time studies and the exercise of (or search for) full- or part-time employment.

Even if the status of students and young full-time workers can be accurately determined, on the basis of available statistics, it is far more difficult to analyse other situations such as inactivity, part-time studies, the more or less urgent search for employment or marginal economic activity. In the same way, it is almost impossible to determine when such activities overlap or to identify the transition between the different options. Table 1 gives a very incomplete breakdown of these different activities or situations of young people aged 15 to 19 in Member countries.

It can be seen, for example, that the number of young people(1) who have left school and who are inactive cannot be assessed even by subtracting enrolment rates plus employment rates from 100 per cent. (It nevertheless seems to be very high in certain countries, such as Italy.) This is also true for marginal and temporary economic activities(2) which are known to be favoured by an increasing number of young people. The relative extent of part-time studies which only appears in certain Member countries is incompletely documented, and the inference is that the majority of these students combine a course of study with an occupational activity. On the other hand, the combination of studies and full-time employment seems feasible only in the United States(3). The only accurate

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1) An assessment of the relative extent of unemployment among young people can be made on the basis of census statistics: according to the British census of 1971, less than one per cent of young people of 16 to 19 were registered as unemployed. According to the French census of 1968, 7.7 per cent of girls from 15 to 19 were neither employed nor attending school, and this was so for 2.8 per cent of boys of this age (excluding those doing military service).

2) Although such activities often elude statistical enquiries the proportion of young people from 15 to 19 engaged in temporary employment has been estimated as approximately 10 per cent in France and 25 per cent in Sweden.
J. Rousselet: L'allergie au travail, Seuil 1975.
R. Ringholm: The insertion of youth into working life - OECD mimeo.

3) In 1970, when 70 per cent of young people from 16 to 19 were attending school it was noted that 37 per cent of these were registered as employed; this was the case for 72 per cent of young people in the same age group who had left the school system. "Special labor force report", in Monthly Labor Review, August 1971.

Table 1

BREAKDOWN OF THE 15 TO 19 AGE GROUP BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY (AROUND 1970)

		Compulsory	Post-compulsory Education Enrolment rate						Employment (rates of activity)	Difference (1) from 100
			Secondary		Total	Higher	Total Full-time (3)	Part-time (2)		
			(a)	(b)						
Germany	1969	9.4	..	..	14.7	1.0	25.6	40.4	63.0	11.4
Austria	1969	3.9	13.3	9.0	22.3	1.5	27.9	29.5	65.0	7.0
Australia	1972	1.3			34.2	5.1	40.9	..	..	..
Belgium	1966	1.0	14.9	27.1	42.0	4.5	47.9	..	44.0	8.0
Canada	1970	7.2			52.1	7.2	66.7	..	..	..
Denmark	1970		20.7	22.5	43.2	1.1	44.3	17.0	46.0	9.7
Spain	1970	5.6	9.7	4.6	14.3	4.3	24.2	..	..	..
United States	1970	24.7	-	-	35.9	15.3	77.9	..	50.7	..
Finland								..	37.0	..
France	1970	25.6	11.8	5.6	17.5	4.4	48.0	2.0	43.0	9.0
Greece	1969		28.4	10.5	38.9	2.5	41.4	..	..	..
Ireland	1970	16.0	-	-	20.7	4.1	40.7	..	..	..
Italy	1970*						31.5	..	40.1	28.4
Japan	1970*						55.7	15.0	45.0	-
Netherlands	1971	16.5	11.9	15.2	27.2	4.4	48.8	15.4	53.0	-
Norway	1970		44.0	11.3	55.3	1.6	57.5	4.1	35.7	7.0
Portugal	1970	1.5	10.6	10.5	21.3	1.1	23.6	..	..	..
Sweden	1972	20.4	-	-	36.5	2.1	59.0	..	40.0	1.0
United Kingdom	1970	7.0	..	..	23.8(4)	3.0	34.2	26.2	63.5	2.3
United States	1970	24.7	-	-	35.9	15.3	77.9	..	50.7	-

.. Figures not available

* Estimated

1) Difference between 100 per cent and the total of the rates of full-time school enrolment and full-time employment.

2) Estimate (pupils enrolled on a part-time basis in secondary education as a percentage of the 15 to 19 age group).

3) Including special education.

4) Including students in Further Education.

Sources: Educational Statistics Yearbook, OECD, Paris, 1974.
Demographic trends 1970 to 1985 in OECD Member countries, OECD, Paris, 1974.

information which is available relates to employment - which concerns between one and two-thirds of this age group - and to various full-time schooling options chosen by some 30 to 80 per cent of young people, according to the Member country.

In Part I, the patterns of educational and vocational choices made by adolescents and the various types of opportunities available after compulsory education are described. This description is necessarily somewhat superficial because of the variety and complexity of the different national situations.

Patterns of choice: Main levels of orientation and types of distribution in secondary education

The secondary school will be discussed primarily as a 'decision-making area' where the main educational or vocational choices are made by young people. The distribution of student flows and the range of options broadly depend on how studies are organised among institutions and the lines and types of study or curricula that are provided. The different options link up with orientation staging posts or turnoffs which are fairly easy to identify. In order to outline a typology of such choice patterns stemming from the organisational structure of secondary education in Member countries, three transitional points or stages will be identified:

- between compulsory and non-compulsory education;
- between the first and second cycles of secondary education;
- between phases of the common core and a more differentiated type of basic education.

The information in Table 2, which gives the ages at which transition takes place in the Member countries, shows a varying degree of correspondence between these three transitional stages, together with such important choices as continuing in full-time education, undertaking a particular type of study, or dropping out of the educational system at a certain age and certain level of instruction.

It may be noted that:

i) in one set of countries (Finland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Sweden, Yugoslavia) the three transitional stages are similar and occur at about the same age (at 16 in the three Nordic countries, 15 in Japan and Yugoslavia and 14 in Italy) after a compulsory and little differentiated type of education lasting 8 years in the two Mediterranean countries and 9 years in the other countries;

ii) in a few other countries the end of compulsory education corresponds more or less to the end of basic elementary schooling (Greece and Turkey) or the end of first cycle secondary (Spain, Denmark, Ireland).

Table 2

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND LEVELS OF ORIENTATION

COUNTRIES	Compulsory education		Age on entry	
	Length in years	Age at end of education	Differentiated lower secondary cycle	Upper secondary cycle
Australia	9-10	15-16	-	15
Austria	9	15	10	14
Belgium	8	14	12	15
Canada	9-10	15-16	-	15
Denmark	9	15-16	14	16
Finland	8-9	16	-	16
France	10	16	11	15
Germany	9	15	10	16
Greece	6	11½	12	15
Ireland	8	15	12	15
Italy	8	14	-	14
Japan	9	15	-	15
Netherlands	9	15	12	..
Norway	9	16	-	16
Portugal	8	14	11-12	13
Spain	8	14	10	14
Sweden	9	16	-	16
Switzerland	8-9	14-16	12-14	15
Turkey	5	12	11	14
United Kingdom	11	16	11-16	15-16
United States	10	16	-	15
Yugoslavia	8	15	-	15

Sources: Educational Statistics Yearbook, OECD, Paris, 1974
Classification of Educational Systems, OECD, Paris, 1972.

iii) in other cases(1) each type of transition takes place at different ages, although within this very dissimilar group of countries it is important to distinguish:

- countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia, which have 12-year comprehensive schools, i.e. going two years beyond compulsory education: starting with a common core and optional subjects, a gradual process of differentiation leads to different lines of study (tracking), although no specific orientation takes place at transition between two cycles or levels of secondary school; and
- European countries where an intermediate comprehensive school has yet to be fully introduced or is in the blueprint stage, and where there is an initial orientation level at age 10 to 12 between parallel institutions or lines of study. Choices at this level are more or less rigid and final (or may be partly modified by switching between lines) at the second orientation level - age 14 to 16 - at the time of promotion to the second cycle. The end of compulsory full-time education either takes place between these two orientation levels (Belgium, Germany) or following entry into the upper cycle of secondary school (Austria, France, Switzerland). In any event, measures to extend compulsory education appear to have been planned somewhat independently of the secondary-school structure or of relevant reforms.

In order to identify these various methods of transition, a number of patterns of choice offered to adolescents and corresponding to the various types of organisational structure in education have been outlined. To round out the description, average probabilities connected with each such choice need to be known and the effects of institutional, individual and social variables entering into the decision-making process should be analysed. The data are of course far from complete. Only the following will be described:

A. The structure of compulsory secondary education(2) and its effects on subsequent choices;

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1) The educational structure in Great Britain is an original one; there is a sharp distinction between technical education (Further Education) and general education; and in general education there is a further distinction between Comprehensive, Grammar and Modern Schools.

2) Compulsory or first-cycle secondary education and post-compulsory or second-cycle secondary education will be considered to have the same meaning, although there may sometimes be practical differences.

B. Choices offered in post-compulsory secondary(1) education (second cycle);

C. Modes and levels of departure from secondary education;

D. The entry of young people from secondary education (compulsory and non-compulsory) into working life and society.

A. THE STRUCTURE OF COMPULSORY SECONDARY EDUCATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON SUBSEQUENT CHOICES

The decisive role of compulsory primary and secondary education in determining choices beyond such educational levels need not be elaborated; much that has been written in connection with the debate on intermediate school reforms(2) has pointed to the irreversible effects of differentiating pupils too early and how these effects can be mitigated in a comprehensive system.

Two types of structure may be distinguished:

i) a first, sharply differentiated type: pupils choose upon entering or during the first secondary cycle (at age 11-14) between vertical structures such as two or three separate establishments (Austria, Germany, Portugal, Spain and United Kingdom) or curricula within a single institution (sections of the Collèges d'Enseignement Secondaire - C.E.S. in France), providing a classical, more general, pre-professional or terminal type of education;

ii) a second, little differentiated type associated with the establishment of a comprehensive school extending primary education and delaying any choice until the end of compulsory education is about to be reached. This applies to non-European Member countries, to the Nordic countries, Italy and Yugoslavia.

The distinction must however be qualified, since in reality they are not so much two opposite groups as different series of intermediate situations: in the first set of countries, for example, many comprehensive systems are being tried out (in the United Kingdom this type of school accommodates nearly half the relevant age group). Observation, orientation and transfer facilities have been organised in order to guide and correct pupils' choices. Conversely, among the countries which have widely adopted comprehensive schools the absence of separate lines of study does not prevent

1) Compulsory or first-cycle secondary education and post-compulsory or second-cycle secondary education will be considered to have the same meaning, although there may sometimes be practical differences.

2) T. Husén, Social Background and Educational Career, CERI/OECD, 1971.

differentiation from an internal or teaching standpoint. This is done by streaming pupils according to levels of aptitude or according to curricular options which will determine the pupil's choice upon leaving the basic school.

The structural differentiation still found in certain countries seems to exert a more systematic influence on such subsequent choices. The orientation of pupils among the two or three paths available, while based on aptitudes, is largely determined by social background, as shown by many surveys(1). This is also true for all other criteria used in schools (marking, tests, transfers to other curricula, dropping out), which tend to lead to selection which is detrimental to children from underprivileged social groups.

A pre-professional and terminal curriculum [of type (b) according to the OECD Classification] is chosen by a large proportion of pupils enrolled in the second cycle of secondary education, although it has been decreasing since 1960 (Table 3):

Table 3

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN LOWER (COMPULSORY) SECONDARY EDUCATION OF TYPE (b)

	1960	1970
Austria	86	82
France	43	29
Germany	82	77
Netherlands	43	43
Spain	56	38

Source: Educational Statistics Yearbook, op. cit.

This choice is on the whole irreversible and in effect prohibits the taking of any post-compulsory long course despite the organisation of observation and transfer facilities between curricula during the first cycle or upon leaving. Restreaming into type (a) seems to be a limited possibility: it involved less than 10 per cent of "Hauptschule" students in Germany around 1970(2). In France pupils leaving section III of the CES have little chance of entering the long second cycle(3):

1) For a synthesis of their results, see T. Husén, op. cit., chapter 6.

2) Educational Policy and Planning: Germany, OECD, Paris, 1972.

3) Note d'Information 73.07, Service Central des Statistiques, Ministry of Education, Paris, 19th February 1973.

Table 4

ORIENTATION OF PUPILS AT END OF THE FIRST CYCLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL (9th YEAR OF STUDY) IN FRANCE (PERCENTAGE FIGURES)

	Towards		Departures	
	Long second cycle	Short second cycle		
From:				
Sections I and II	66	21	13	100
Section III (Practical) of first cycle	1.5	17.5	81	100

The change-over from a differentiated type of organisation to a comprehensive structure has considerably altered this pattern of choice: sample surveys in Sweden of comparable groups in parallel and comprehensive schools(1) show that any measures proposing to eliminate selection procedures upon entering or during the course of the lower secondary cycle, to do away with a differentiated organisation according to type of school or type of curriculum, and to make school achievement standards more flexible have helped to reduce inequalities of opportunity at the end of the basic school; while such greater equality stems from the wider choices available, it is true that pupils from less privileged backgrounds change their plans and aspirations so that more of them are prepared to undertake general studies.

B. CHOICES OFFERED IN POST-COMPULSORY SECONDARY EDUCATION

During the past twenty years young people have been offered greater opportunities for continuing their education on a full-time basis; for this reason schools have considerably expanded their functions in educating and socialising adolescents, who in increasing proportions devote more and more time to learning rather than to other activities, or, more particularly, to employment. This situation results from the play of observable economic and social forces, culminating in two interrelated types of decisions:

i) from a collective standpoint the authorities in all Member countries have extended the period of compulsory education and the school-leaving age by one or two years in order to raise the level of education regarded as minimally required

1) T. Husén, op. cit.

for entering socio-economic life in a context marked by change. Differences among Member countries are still considerable, however:

Ages at end of compulsory education:	13 and under	14	15	16
Number of countries:	2	4	9	9
Length of compulsory education:	7 and under	8	9	10 and over
Number of countries:	2	7	10	5

ii) from an individual standpoint the changing social aspirations in some groups and increased incomes have resulted in a heavier demand for educational services, which the authorities have been able to meet owing to higher tax revenues. The higher incomes received by families have enabled them to accept the loss in potential earnings entailed by longer school attendance and consequently delayed entry into working life.

The doubling of numbers enrolled at this educational level between 1960 and 1970 (see Table 5) shows the rapid rate of change in both the demand and supply where places are concerned. Population trends on average account for less than one-third of the increase, which is due to a sharp rise in transfer rates from the lower secondary cycle (Table 6). Rising enrolment rates in the 17-year age group are an indicator of the change (Table 7).

Table 5

ENROLMENTS IN UPPER CYCLE SECONDARY EDUCATION

	Increase 1960/1970 (%) Full type only	Percentage of enrolments in type (a) education	
		1960	1970
Australia	211	-	-
Austria	195	24 (66)	31 (57)
Germany	160	14 (66)	19 (59)
Canada	250	-	-
Denmark	200	33 (43)	34 (47)
Spain	233	- (56)	- (59)
United States	162	-	-
France	238	59 (70)	61 (68)
Italy	214	(84)	(81)
Japan	131	-	-
Netherlands	168	24 (30)	29 (34)
Sweden	192	-	-
Switzerland	140	13 (59)	13 (50)

(Figures in brackets refer to full-time pupils only)

Source: Educational Statistics Yearbook, op. cit.

Table 6

TRANSFER RATES INTO UPPER SECONDARY CYCLE

(in percentages of age group)

		Total upper secondary	of which type (a)	of which type (b)
Japan	1960	58	-	-
	1970	82	-	-
Norway(1)	1957	33	12	21
	1970	72	32	40
Sweden	1960	45	19	26
	1970	74	32	42
Austria	1970	44	23	19
France	1971	72	43	29

Source: National Statistics.

Table 7

FULL-TIME SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATES
IN THE 17-YEAR AGE GROUP

	1960	1970
Austria	-	24
Belgium	30	53
Denmark	10	32
France	30	45
Germany	14	20
Italy	15	30
Netherlands	-	41
Sweden	18	61
United Kingdom	11	26
United States	75	87

Source: Yearbook op. cit.

The extent of enrolment by young people between the ages of 15 and 19 is apparent from the figures in Table 8. Approximately one-half of those in the age group covering the four years following the end of compulsory education (15-18 or 16-19 in three-quarters of the cases) attend school full-time in a majority of Member countries. The ratio reaches two-thirds of the age group in Japan, Canada and the United States, is slightly less (30 to 40 per cent) in the few countries - Austria, Germany, Switzerland, United Kingdom - which have extensive vocational training systems based on apprenticeship within firms. In these countries such part-time training constitutes a leading traditional choice (Table 9) offered

1) As a percentage of 16 year-old age group.

Table 8

FULL-TIME ENROLMENT RATES FOR THE 15-19 AGE GROUP

		15	16	17	18	19
Australia	1972	82.4	54.9	36.3	18.0	10.7
Austria	1969	55.0	38.5	23.7	16.1	11.4
Belgium	1969	89.6	70.8	52.8	36.7	25.6
Canada	1970	96.3	87.1	69.0	45.5	30.3
Denmark	1970	88.5	78.6	33.0	12.1	
France	1970	80.5	62.6	45.5	30.6	21.8
Germany	1969	55.4	31.3	19.2	12.9	9.6
Greece	1969	54.7	47.6	43.0	48.5	12.7
Ireland	1970	70.7	55.1	39.4	20.6	20.6
Italy	1966	42.1	33.6	27.4	19.7	11.0
Japan	1970	83.8	80.0	74.8	29.5	22.0
Netherlands	1971	83.5	63.4	43.9	30.1	21.8
Norway	1970	93.8	71.0	50.3	40.6	28.3
Portugal	1970	29.9	25.7	22.8	20.2	18.6
Spain	1970	34.6	29.1	22.3	18.5	16.1
Sweden	1972	96.7	73.7	60.7	40.7	24.0
United States	1970	98.2	94.1	86.9	58.1	45.4
United Kingdom	1970	72.9	41.6	25.9	17.4	13.7

Source: Yearbook Educational Statistics op. cit.

to young people coming from compulsory education(1) who want to learn a trade, although except in the United Kingdom the ratio is diminishing (Table 10).

Table 9

FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME ENROLMENT RATES (1970)

	Full-time	Part-time	Total
United Kingdom (16-19): England and Wales	25.2	30.2	55.5
Scotland	22.2	25.8	48.0
Germany (16-19)	24.0	51.2	75.2
Austria (15-18)	32.0	15.0	47.0

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

Table 10

PERCENTAGE OF PART-TIME ENROLMENTS IN POST-COMPULSORY SECONDARY EDUCATION

	1960	1970
Austria	64.5	46.0
Germany	76.0	68.0
Switzerland	77.0	73.0
England and Wales	54.0 (1966)	54.0

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

This increased preference of young people for post-compulsory education takes the form of widely varying specific choices, since there is a considerable range of training schemes and curricula. These may differ as to length, goals, admission standards and criteria for success but they exist in most national educational systems(2). Apart from establishments with a unified, comprehensive structure like the American high school(3) two sharply differentiated types of education are provided:

1) In Germany and the Netherlands such part-time instruction is compulsory until the age of 18.

2) See OECD Classification of Educational Systems.

3) Differentiation in American high schools is complex. Although partly based on differences in the level of schools, achievement criteria are also used. Pupils are divided into groups according to aptitude and subjects (tracking), while provision is made for possible transfers between tracks, and in some cases according to higher-education possibilities (college and non-college tracks; upper and lower college tracks). Several patterns of choice have been identified in terms of earlier or later differentiation by R. Turner, "Modes of Social Ascent Through Education: Sponsored and Context Mobility", American Sociological Review, No. 25, 1960; but the effects of tracking are disputed: see National Educational Association, Ability Grouping, Research Summary, Washington, 1968; W. Findlay and M. Bryan, Ability Grouping, Center for Educational Improvement, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1970; C. Jenks, Inequality, New York, 1972, p. 106.

a) Full-time study, after which the pupil will have a good opportunity to enter higher education; general courses preparing the pupil for university studies are often distinguished from technical courses which also lead to higher education (usually of a non-university kind) and/or to a number of technical or white-collar occupations;
b) Job-oriented (or sometimes general) studies provided in and/or outside the formal school system along different lines (full or part-time, apprenticeship) affording access to skilled trades (and sometimes technical or white-collar occupations).

The ratio of places available as between these two types of education has not greatly changed since 1960: this tends to invalidate the theory that the development of secondary education took place at the expense of technical education; numbers enrolled under type (a) have grown a little faster (Table 5), provided part-time pupils are included, but this trend perhaps reflects less a greater preference for general education than the wider opportunities for higher education offered at the end of some kinds of technical courses.

The factors which influence the choice of either type of study are inadequately known, but institutional pressures may be assumed to play a decisive role. To begin with, the study options selected or imposed during a differentiated first cycle have the decisive influence which was mentioned earlier: in Germany, for example, all 11th-grade pupils of the Gymnasium (13 per cent of an age group in 1970) seem to be recruited from among pupils coming from the first level of the Gymnasium or Realschule (25 per cent of an age group), while others go into vocational curricula; in France, (Table 4) all pupils in the long second cycle came from sections I and II of the C.E.S., whereas one third of those in the short second cycle came from these same sections, and two thirds from section III, the practical section, etc. It is interesting to note that in the countries which have introduced a comprehensive type of school some choices are nevertheless made at an early stage: a Swedish survey(1) reports that 70 per cent of pupils had chosen the kind of second-cycle course they were taking and had decided whether or not to enter a Gymnasium by the seventh year of education. The number of places available in the second cycle of type (a) is another constraint(2); transfer rates show that access to this type is

1) J. Bengtsson, Utbildningsval, Utbildningsforskning och Utbildningsplanering, Lund, 1972.

2) The existence of extensive systems of vocational training seems to go hand in hand with curricula of type (a) which are much more selective and where fewer places in higher education are available.

Table 11

PUPIL ORIENTATION AT END OF LOWER SECONDARY CYCLE
ACCORDING TO SOCIAL BACKGROUND (EXAMPLES)

1. Denmark: Orientation at end of 7th year of education (1970)

To		Real (type a)	8th grade (type b)	Leave school	Total
Social background(1)	%				
1. Top management	(5)	81	17	2	100
2. Middle management	(8)	70	29	2	100
3. Clerical and sales	(36)	49	46	5	100
4. Skilled workers	(25)	39	57	4	100
5. Unskilled workers	(26)	25	64	11	100
	100				

1) In working population.

Source: "Social Factors in the First Selection in the Danish School System, the Danish National Institute of Social Research, 1972.

2. France: Position at age 16 of cohort born in 1955 according to father's socio-economic status

Socio-professional category	1st cycle	At school 2nd cycle(a)	At school 2nd cycle(b)	Not at school Apprentices	Not at school With jobs	Other (1)	Total
- Top management	7.7	83.8	6.2	0.4	0.6	1.3	100
- Middle management	10.9	59.2	20.1	5.5	2.9	1.4	100
- Crafts, trade	11.4	50.4	20.0	11.5	3.4	3.3	100
- Agriculture	10.7	40.5	28.4	7.1	5.7	7.6	100
- Clerical and sales	12.5	37.0	33.1	8.0	5.7	33.7	100
- Skilled workers	11.0	33.6	32.4	10.3	9.0	3.7	100
- Farm workers	15.6	30.1	32.2	8.1	11.3	2.7	100
- Unskilled workers	8.5	22.9	34.5	12.1	15.4	6.6	100
TOTAL	11.0	39.1	28.4	9.3	7.7	4.5	100

1) Unemployed and miscellaneous.

Source: L'entrée des jeunes dans la vie active, Rousselet et al. Centre d'Etudes de l'Emploi, Paris, 1974.

3. Sweden: Pupil orientation according to social background after 9 years' schooling (1970)

Social background		Gymnasium	Realskola	Vocational Schools	Others
Group 1 (High)	%	82	10	6	2
Group 2 (Middle)	%	46	21	21	13
Group 3 (Low)	%	25	21	34	20

Source: K. Harnqvist and J. Bengtsson, Educational Reforms and Educational Equality, Institute of Education, Sweden.

limited by selection, although the effects have eased since 1960. Admission requirements to type (a) are often rather strict and depend on previous school achievement and associated criteria such as age, for example. Requirements are based on grades obtained during the entrance examination (Japan) or upon leaving the first cycle (Italy, Germany), in certain basic subjects, or else on the teacher's evaluation. In most cases type (b) education seems to be selected by pupils which type (a) establishments have rejected (or who have been rejected at first cycle level); such choices seem to be the result of selection mechanisms.

These different choices are moreover associated with socio-economic variables; the pupil's social background varies according to the type of education, as indicated by the data appearing in Table 11; in addition to cultural influences, it should be mentioned that the choice of either type of education (as well as departure from the school system) at this level implies considerable earnings forgone which may oblige children from low-income families to enter working life, whether directly or with a job qualification so as to minimise the risk which a general and long course of study would entail. Opportunities for access to type (a) education are subject also to wide regional variations which reflect not only differences in socio-economic structure but also disparities in school accommodation capacity and local labour market conditions, on which the number of places available in technical and vocational institutions partly depends. Lastly, in both types of education enrolment differs according to sex (Table 12).

Table 12

PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS ENROLLED FULL-TIME IN SECOND-CYCLE EDUCATION (1970)

	Type (a)	Type (b)
Denmark	52.3	32
France	51.7	50
Germany	40.5	58
Italy	40.2	47
Netherlands	42.5	43

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

Various curricula are provided by both types of second-cycle education:

a) In type (a) education general curricula can be clearly distinguished from technical curricula, and they are broken down into a varying number of sections and options.(1) Places available in

1) See Classification of Educational Systems, op. cit.

both types of course vary greatly in ratio to each other according to country, although general education seems to have gained slightly since 1960 (Table 13).

Table 13

PERCENTAGES IN TYPE (a) SECOND-CYCLE GENERAL EDUCATION

	1960	1970
Austria	63	70
France	100	77
Germany	-	90
Italy	49	49
Japan	57	58
Spain	97	95
Sweden	47	45
United Kingdom	78	81
Yugoslavia	42	49

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

The criteria determining the choice of curriculum are not well-known; specific admission requirements relating to grades obtained in certain subjects (Latin, Greek, mathematics) or depending on former choices may play a decisive part, statistics indicating that technical education attracts more boys than girls and from more diverse social backgrounds than general education underline the persistence of social factors in the selection process.

b) Type (b) education is generally intended to prepare pupils for working life(1). According to a classification which is still valid(2), it is possible to distinguish:

- systems based on apprenticeship (United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Switzerland) in craft trades, industry or commerical firms, regulated by contract and supplemented by part-time schooling one or two days a week (Berufschulen, day release courses), during several weeks (block release courses) or less often by evening courses;
- systems based on vocational schools (Belgium, Sweden until 1971), both public and private;
- mixed systems (Denmark, France, Netherlands), where there are both forms of apprenticeship (increasing only slightly) and vocational schools providing equivalent training.

1) In some countries (Germany, Denmark, Netherlands) complementary general education is offered at this level, apparently in anticipation of longer compulsory education.

2) R. Grégoire, Vocational Education, OECD, Paris, 1967.

In the matter of choices available to young people, however, these various types of training have some features in common. They are isolated from other secondary schools and their status is much lower; moreover, although the qualifications they offer are grouped together, these are still considerably diversified and training remains highly specialised (several hundred kinds of certificate are issued) and this limits opportunities for further training. Finally, the way pupils are recruited, usually from extremely modest backgrounds and excluded from the "intellectual" lines of study, accounts for certain operational difficulties and for the partial challenge to the narrowly vocational ends of such training establishments(1).

Over the last fifteen years the organisation of basic vocational training has been broadened to include instruction outside the educational system, whether in private firms or in public agencies usually coming under Ministries of Labour; legislation for training purposes (Industrial Training Act in the United Kingdom, vocational training acts in France) which include provisions for basic trainipg have often been used as a framework for setting up establishments admitting adults without any qualification or for retraining as well as young people who have left school without receiving any vocational instruction and who face special problems upon entering working life.

C. MODES AND LEVELS OF DEPARTURE FROM SECONDARY EDUCATION

The mechanisms governing retention by the school system or departures from it are imperfectly known because there is a lack of longitudinal studies or flow statistics(2). Conditions vary widely, according to whether departure is a matter of personal choice (reflecting an earlier desire or not), imposed by the institution or by socio-economic conditions, occurs during or at the end of a cycle, after or without acquiring some vocational skill, etc. Four levels of departure will be distinguished, although there is no way of determining the degree of consistency within such subgroups:

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1) American high schools offer very different methods of vocational training, included in general curricula or in the form of selectives. In 1971-72 it was estimated that some 50 per cent of pupils of grades 9 to 12 were receiving this kind of preparation, which is also provided at post-secondary level and in firms. G.W. McGurn and W. Davis: Occupational Education in the United States, Working paper, European Cultural Foundation.

2) Statistical departments in many Member countries have carried out important work in this area over the last few years. In the Netherlands, for example, there are flow matrices which make it possible to identify the outflow according to sex, level and type of education, diploma or not.

i) To begin with, a small proportion of young people fail to reach the end of compulsory education(1) and to acquire even a minimal amount of basic instruction. These are 'undereducated' adolescents(2) afflicted with various physical, mental or social handicaps, most of whom come from underprivileged backgrounds and whose school career has been marked by a series of lags and failures(3).

Such early departures are particularly widespread in the rural areas of developing Member countries, where children work on the farm at a young age, are less awakened to the values of school achievement or live far away from the school, which may, in any case be inadequately equipped (Table 14).

Table 14

PERCENTAGE IN AGE GROUP
WHO HAVE LEFT SCHOOL (1970)

	12 years	13 years	14 years
Spain	7.0	13.6	50
Portugal	14.7	25.2	68.4
Greece (1969)	21	32	40
Turkey and Yugoslavia:	data not available		

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

ii) A second group of adolescents leaves school at the age and level which corresponds to the end of compulsory education; on the basis of school enrolment trends by age group, 10 to 30 per cent of pupils in the age group left school in European developed countries during 1970. The factors responsible for leaving at this stage are not clear. The few studies available(4) point to poor adjustment of

1) In several countries, where such children are allowed to leave compulsory education and encouraged to learn a trade (the case for 3.7 per cent of 15-year olds in France during 1971, for example), it is arguable whether drop-outs are involved.

2) R. Girod. "Les adolescents sous-instruits dans les sociétés industrielles de l'Ouest", Revue Française de Pédagogie, 1973, p. 21.

3) Indirect surveys such as that carried out for young soldiers may help towards a partial understanding of the problem; they showed, in England, in about 1960, that 16 per cent of young soldiers had a much lower level of education attainment than a young person who had completed compulsory schooling, and in France (1967), 23 per cent had not completed primary education. (cf. "15 to 18", report of the Central Advisory Council for Education. England, H.M.S.C. London, Volume II, and Rapport d'enquête sur la jeunesse française. La documentation française, Paris, 1960.

4) Young School Leavers: Report of an inquiry carried out for the School Council, London, H.M.S.O., 1968. L'entrée des jeunes dans la vie active: Enquête longitudinale concernant la génération née en 1955, Centre d'Etudes de l'Emploi, Paris, 1974, p. 150 et seq.

the school environment to young people, who look upon the school as a place conducive to failure and boredom, reject it and impatiently await the status of apprentice, young worker and wage-earner. Two institutional variables may therefore be assumed to affect (possibly cumulatively) this choice; the local labour market, local apprenticeship or on-the-job training opportunities may induce certain young people to make a vocational choice upon leaving school, while the capacity of certain post-compulsory establishments and the facilities they have, combined with the quality and interest of the courses offered in relation to the pupil's aspirations, may also have an influence. The fact that the final year of compulsory education should prepare for a trade or that the end of such training should occur during a cycle or correspond to an orientation stage (see Table 2) presumably also has some effect.(1)

While such initial departures may well be closely linked to low school achievement, some surveys show that they are narrowly correlated with social background (see examples mentioned in Table 11), geographical origin, and only in a few countries with the sex of the pupil (Table 14).

Table 15

PERCENTAGE OF AGE-GROUP LEAVING SCHOOL DURING THE YEAR FOLLOWING THE END OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION, BY SEX (ca.1970)

	Boys	Girls
Belgium (14 years)	12.5	13.4
France (15 years)	23.6	15.4
Germany (14 years)	44.8	44.4
Japan (15 years)	15.6	16.8
Netherlands (15 years)	13.7	27.2
Spain (13 years)	10.1	17.4
United States (17 years)	11.1	15.2

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

iii) Dropping out during the course of second-cycle secondary education is another type of departure. In the United States, for example, some 15 per cent of an age group drop

1) The significance of the decision to leave school is thus altered, since, if the age marking the end of compulsory education occurs during a cycle, departure is likely to be an indication of failure (the most rational decision consisting in finishing the cycle and receiving a certificate), which would not be the case if this age matched the end of the first secondary cycle.

out of high school during this period of study; these are low-achievement pupils who for the most part come from minority or low-income groups; the decision to leave school is reported as a personal choice associated with a bored attitude towards school. The same characteristics are found in most European countries, but certain curricula lead to a greater falling behind, under-achievement or dropping out because of their selective nature. The following are(1):

France(1971-72)	Repeater rates during three years of long second cycle: 9.2; 6; 10 per cent. Failure rates at baccalauréat: 45 to 30 per cent, according to options
Germany (1966)	22 per cent of pupils enrolled in Grade II do not obtain the Abitur (13th year of studies)
Italy (1970-71)	Repeater rates in licei: 6 per cent. Failure rates at final examination: 10 per cent
Norway (1970)	14 per cent of first-year Gymnas pupils do not obtain the final diploma.

. Some pupils who leave this type of education may enter vocational courses of type (b), in which performance has been little studied. Drop-out rates here also appear to be very high (amounting to some one-third of enrolments in French 'collèges d'enseignment technique'). Most pupils who drop out before the end of the cycle may however be assumed to enter the labour market without any usable occupational skill.

Among the reasons for dropping out most surveys(2) begin by mentioning such school factors as earlier failures and repeats, negative attitudes towards schooling and poor performance, followed by the low socio-economic status of the family linked with the burden of school fees or a syndrome concerning values and attitudes which little favours further education. According to a United Kingdom survey(3) one-half of the pupils who leave the sixth form during the course (i.e. 18 per cent of all leavers) claim to be

1) Sources: Germany: Educational Policy and Planning, op. cit; page 250.
France: Tableau de l'Education Nationale, 1973 ed.
Italy: Anuario Statistico dell'Istruzione, 1972 ed.
Norway: Gymnas Entrants and Gymnas Graduates, Utredningsinstitutt, 1972: 4.

2) Antecedents and consequences of early school leaving. UNESCO B.I.E. Educational documentation and information no. 182 - 1972.

3) Schools Councils. Sixth Form Survey: Vol. 3. Sixth Form Leavers, London, 1971.

dissatisfied with the school or their performance and 23 per cent mention financial and family difficulties, while in answer to another question 44 per cent wanted to enter the working world and change their way of life.

iv) Lastly, the acquisition of a school-leaving certificate constitutes another level of departure, unless it provides access to higher education. Such departure flows expressed in terms of average percentages of an age group can be roughly assessed, although the vocational worth of such certificates is unknown. In Member countries with comprehensive schools, for instance, flows may be estimated as follows:

Table 16

AVERAGE PERCENTAGES IN AGE GROUP (ca. 1970) WHO:

	Hold a secondary school-leaving certificate	Enter higher education	Leave School
United States	76	47	29
Japan	73	27	45
Canada	..	26	..

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

In countries where the structure of secondary education is more diversified, a distinction must be made between two types of certificate holders who leave the educational system at different levels according to rates evaluated by a few countries (Table 17):

- certificate-holders from type (b) education, most of whom have received vocational or technical training and can be expected to enter working life as well as skilled employment;
- certificate-holders from type (a) general and technical education who neither can nor want to enter higher education.

Table 17

PERCENTAGE AVERAGE OF AGE GROUP LEAVING SECONDARY SCHOOL WITH FINAL CERTIFICATE (AS ESTIMATED ca. 1970)

	Percentage of certificate holders			Rates of Entry	Difference (leavers)
	Type (b)	Type (a)	Total		
Belgium (1966)	37	22	59	23	36
Finland	56	25	81	20	61
France	29	22	51	21	30
Germany	26	10	36	14	22
Italy	10	26	36	23	13
Norway	--	27	--	26	--

Source: Yearbook, op. cit.

These various conditions governing departure from the educational system, the existence of several departure levels and the widely varying length of study as well as amount of knowledge acquired point to vastly different conditions of entry into working life and occupational integration, which are described briefly below.

D. THE ENTRY OF YOUNG PEOPLE INTO WORK AND SOCIETY(1)

In 1970 (Table 1) an average of from 35 to 55 per cent of young people aged 15 to 19 were in employment; the figures were somewhat higher (60 to 65 per cent) in those countries (Austria, Germany, United Kingdom, Sweden) with systems of part-time vocational education. These average figures vary greatly from year to year by age group and sex (Table 19). They declined - by about 10 per cent between 1965 and 1970(2) - mainly because of increasing school enrolment but this decline appears to have slowed down over the last few years.(3)

These figures - which include unemployment rates - do not however give any information about the situation of young people faced with the prospect of employment or about the mechanisms for entering working life. It is well known moreover, that in the majority of Member countries an increasing number of young people from 16 to 24 years of age are having difficulties in finding or keeping their first job. In some cases, they represent more than half the total number of persons seeking employment and their high rates of unemployment are a major pre-occupation of governments.

The employment of young people, to begin with, is particularly influenced by the state of the economy: first to be taken on when economic activity recovers, they are the first to be affected by a reduction in recruitment and by dismissals when economic activity slows down. The small amount of data (scarcely comparable among countries) on trends in unemployment rates which appear in Table 18 give some idea of these fluctuations.

These figures and those for the United States and Canada in particular show that rates of unemployment for young people have constantly been from two to four times higher than average

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1) The observations under this heading are very brief and are expanded in the report entitled "The Entry of Young People into Working Life", op. cit., to which reference may be made.

2) Demographic Trends 1970-1985 in OECD Member countries, OECD, Paris 1974.

3) Since 1970 there has been a stabilization in some cases (in the region of 50 per cent in Sweden) or an increase (of four points in the United States) in employment rates in this age group.

unemployment rates, regardless of the state of the economy or of demographic variations. This shows the phenomenon to be a structural one.

Table 18

TREND IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES IN SOME COUNTRIES

Age groups		Years					
		1968	1970	1971	1972	1973	19
Canada:	15-24	9.7	10.1	11.7	11.6	9.8	9.7
	25-64	3.8	4.2	4.6	4.5	4.0	3.8
Finland:	15-19	9.2	4.2	5.9	7.5	6.6	
	15-64	4.0	1.9	2.3	2.5	2.3	
Sweden:	15-19	..	9.5	9.2	9.7		
United States:	16-17	14.7	17.1	18.7	18.5	17.3	
	18-19	11.6	13.9	15.5	14.6	12.4	
	22-55	2.6	3.3	4.0	3.6	3.1	

Sources: Canada: Labour Force Employment Unemployment Information, June 1974.
Finland: A. Pulkkinen: Entry into the Labour Market of Young People, mimeo.
Sweden: B. Ringholm, op. cit.
United States: Manpower Report of the President, April 1974

The figures for unemployment rates for different levels of education reveal that these rates and the average duration of unemployment vary inversely with the level of education: rates of unemployment for young people having a level of education corresponding to the end of compulsory schooling, to the final certificate of secondary education or to a diploma at a higher level were for example respectively 6.8 per cent, 3.9 per cent and 3.3 per cent in Sweden (1971) and 14.4 per cent, 7.8 per cent and 5 per cent in the United States (1973). This is not true in all cases, however, as is shown by the example of the United Kingdom.

A closer analysis shows that the type of studies and qualifications plays a more decisive role than the level of education and the situations facing young people on their entry into working life may be broadly outlined on this basis.

i) Some of them possess usable vocational qualifications. They find jobs in their own or some related speciality fairly easily, sometimes at a lower level than they might have hoped, but with opportunities for further training and promotion.

ii) Others have completed a cycle of studies and obtained a diploma which they hoped would enable them to find a job. In fact, these diplomas frequently lead to but very limited openings, or they represent over-specialised or over-varied

studies which are not appropriate to the real needs of the job. The employment perspectives of these young people depend to a large extent on their being offered the possibility of additional vocational training or retraining.

iii) A third and extremely varied group is made up of young people who leave the educational system without vocational qualifications. Some of them, whether or not they have completed their general education, may find jobs offering certain career prospects, in particular in the public services or the tertiary sector. The great majority, however, including those who left school at the end of compulsory schooling, find themselves in the most difficult unemployment situation leading to unqualified or temporary employment with low wages and the likelihood of remaining in the same situation for some time. This is the case for a large proportion of young people in the labour market aged from 16 to 19.

Other variables such as age, sex, local or regional labour markets, mobility, the existence of employment exchanges and the extent of their use, the wage structure and working conditions and the lack of prestige of certain jobs, particularly of a manual kind, affect the process of entry into working life and help to create additional obstacles, which are difficult to overcome. According to the results of surveys conducted among young people themselves, and among parents and employers, the factors most often blamed are deficiencies in training structures and working conditions. School enrolment may have developed and extended, but vocational training opportunities have remained inadequate. Moreover, certain traditional methods of entering working life have lost much of their force but have not been replaced by other forms of transition between the school and employment. The most striking example is the system of apprenticeship, which does not in fact seem entirely suitable for the work organisation as it exists today and which, moreover, attracts fewer and fewer young people although the rate of decline seems to be slowing down. The number of apprenticeships offered has declined considerably (in Germany for example).

These increasing gaps between the level of education and initial employment, which are of a structural nature - as shown for example by the figures in Table 19 relating to the United States - have complex psychological effects. The analysis of these is the subject of a separate report to which reference may be made(1).

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1) The Entry of Young People into Working Life, OECD, op. cit.

E. FINAL COMMENTS: THE LIMITATIONS OF OPPORTUNITY

All the previous considerations cover only some analytical aspects of the opportunities offered to young people; only certain goals and criteria of secondary-school organisation are referred to, and these final comments must, of necessity, be fragmentary. Granting that the function of secondary education is to promote the pupil's personal development and guide him (by taking individual aspirations into account and attenuating the effects of social factors) so as best to facilitate his entry into working life, it must once again be recognised that the means are poorly suited to the goals.

To begin with, most educational and vocational choices are largely imposed by the educational system because of its rigid organisation. A leading feature is its continuing dual structure in the second cycle and in many cases as early as the first cycle of secondary education. This structure maintains a strict distinction between knowledge (theoretical/practical, general/technical/vocational considered to meet varying aptitudes) and goals (access to higher education or departure owing to entry into working life), while it also lays the ground for a division of labour (intellectual/manual) and of functions (planning/execution).

Table 19

FIRST JOBS OF EMPLOYED SCHOOL DROP-OUTS, HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND DEGREE RECIPIENTS BY OCCUPATION, OCTOBER 1971

UNITED STATES

Occupation Groups	1970-71 Degree recipients		1971 High School graduates		1971 School drop-outs	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Professional and Technical	60.6	64.0	2.4	2.9	-	0.7
Managers and Administrators, Non-farm	3.3	1.3	1.8	0.7	0.8	-
Sales	11.0	3.8	5.8	7.4	5.6	5.0
Clerical and Kindred	9.2	22.7	6.4	47.7	4.8	19.3
Service	3.5	6.4	12.0	16.4	10.4	25.0
Craftsmen, Foremen			10.9	-	9.6	-
Operatives	12.5	1.8	32.8	17.1	33.6	24.3
Labourers			22.2	1.9	26.4	2.1
Farm Labourers and Foremen			6.0	1.7	8.8	7.9
Private household				4.3	-	15.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: B. Reubens, the Place of the Occupational Component in Education and Training, document prepared for the OECD Tables 4 and 5.

Such a differentiation in secondary education is linked to the hierarchical structure which prevails (a particularly striking instance being the way levels of departure are distributed) combined with scales of values: thus considerable value is attached to the choice of general and pre-university courses or to grades obtained in certain subjects (Latin, mathematics, etc.) on which the hierarchy of other options is based. Such latter choices (technical education, vocational courses, direct entry into working life after compulsory education) are ranked in descending order and associated with lower performance, re-orientation regarded as a mark of failure, and with early departures imposed by the school or the social group for cultural or financial reasons. In most cases, the individual is not really free to choose and options are frequently imposed by the institution itself. Certain types of courses thus become "last resorts" and lose much of their value. Moreover, the scattered nature of establishments, the compartmentalisation of certain sections and the existence of curricula providing no opportunity for choice narrowly restrict the range of orientation. Nor do the structural reforms in secondary education, longer school attendance and the inclusion of middle or lower social strata seem to have fundamentally influenced its selective scheme of operation, value patterns or pyramidal type of organisation. The survival of this model is reflected in the traditional features still prevailing in the curriculum, in teaching methods and in school life generally. Other features are examinations and diplomas which often take precedence over the acquisition of knowledge - intellectual or otherwise. Because of the pressure of demand and the trend favouring the democratisation of general education, the doors have been opened to ever more dissimilar groups, while no time has been taken to adjust a type of training designed for an élite. More and more pupils have been absorbed by the expansion of an increasingly inadequate model.

It is probable that the survival of a selective system has done much to limit the effects of career orientation policies. In spite of substantial efforts, pupil observation, information and guidance have not done away with selection based on failure and have come up against value judgments as between lines of study, disciplines and diplomas. Pupils are not oriented in terms of their educational and vocational choices, but often according to the prestige attaching to some particular type of education, standards of achievement and the social values of certain diplomas. The strategy usually adopted by upper and middle-class children is thus to rise as far as possible in the traditional system of general secondary education, to meet the criteria imposed and to choose university entrance as a priority objective. Such an approach fosters the "spell of the university" while downgrading other choices and maintaining a rigid

division between educational and vocational options, offered as opposite alternatives.

Moreover the effect of such a selective pattern is to assimilate departure from the school with the end of the educational process. Not only do young working adults have a negligible chance of being admitted, but failure and wastage may well promote a negative attitude towards school education, thus creating a major obstacle to participation in later forms of adult education.

Lastly, the structure directly affects modes of access to initial employment and working life. Except in countries which have broad systems of apprenticeship, pupils who leave school at the end of compulsory education (i.e. 20 to 30 per cent of an age group) or drop out soon after, enter the labour market with no vocational training, and unemployment, instability, marginal or blind-alley jobs are their ultimate fate.

The traditional forms of apprenticeship or vocational training provided by school systems are very often insufficient and provide choices which can only be modified with difficulty. These options are often taken up without precise information about the trades they prepare for, nor do they always correspond to available employment. The prestige attached to general education and certain educational norms and values (success, competition, risk of failure) help to create both a negative image of work and expectations which are unlikely to be fulfilled. The filtering mechanisms in the educational structures appear not only to inhibit the development of aptitudes but also to exclude the possibility of making real choices as between the pursuit of study and entry into working life and to provide options which are rarely coherent and leave in themselves no alternatives. It is therefore useful to ask to what extent the reforms of this first level of post-compulsory study tend to modify the structure of the options proposed and to offer new possibilities for choosing.

Part II:
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW OPTIONS
A REVIEW OF PROPOSALS AND POLICY QUESTIONS

The second part of this report reviews the changes introduced or envisaged in Member countries with a view to making new options available to young people and describes the social policy objectives on which these changes are based. The main numerical trends within the age group concerned will be briefly restated:

A. NUMERICAL ASPECTS OF AGE GROUP TRENDS

1. Demographic trends

In 1970, the 15-19 age group represented from 6.4 to 10.8 per cent (8.3 per cent on average) of the total population in Member countries. Population forecasts by the Secretariat(1) and by the ILO(2) anticipate a slight decrease in the importance of this group in the course of the next 10 to 15 years in 19 of the 25 countries under consideration (8 per cent in 1980 and 7.5 per cent in 1985) (Table 20).

2. Trends in youth activity rates

The relative decline in importance of the 15-19 age group within the future working population will be more marked and will affect all the countries concerned; from 8.8 per cent on average in 1970, it should drop to some 7 per cent in 1980. One reason is the trend of the population structure, but the chief cause is the expected fall in youth activity rates between 1970 and 1980 (Table 21), particularly in the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The effect (for the 11 countries under consideration) will be more marked for boys than girls, whose activity rates should decline from 53 per cent to 40 per cent and from 47 per cent to 40 per cent respectively. These averages conceal sharp variations from country to country.

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1) Demographic trends 1970-1985 in OECD Member countries. op. cit.
2) ILO: Manpower forecasts, 1965-1985, Geneva 1971.

The forecasts appear to attribute this fall to the extension of compulsory or voluntary schooling. Whereas in the majority of cases, activity rates appear to have been assessed as percentages of school enrolment rates, some countries (United Kingdom, Sweden, United States) included in their calculations the hypothesis of increasing full-time or part-time participation of students in economic activity, which indicates an increased combination of educational and vocational activities.

3. Trends in school enrolment rates (1970-1980)

National forecasts of school enrolments indicate a marked increase but one which varies greatly from country to country. The United States (and to a lesser extent Japan and Canada) is however an exception: the general growth in numbers attending High Schools since 1945 has come to an end, and between now and 1981 the number of pupils will decrease slightly, a fact which will have important consequences for school operation.(1) In most developed European Member countries (Table 22), two-thirds of the 15-18 age group presumably will attend school on a full-time basis by 1980 as opposed to about 50 per cent in 1970. Part of this increase is due to the extension of compulsory education up to the age of sixteen which several countries have introduced during the last few years.

The reforms expected at post-compulsory level should help to bring about a considerable increase in individual demand, particularly when comprehensive structures are made available. Thus, in Sweden the setting up of the integrated secondary school since 1971 has been accompanied by a rapid increase in transfer rates from compulsory education, from some 74 per cent to 87 per cent in 1973; furthermore the closing of the gap between the methods and prestige levels of different types of curriculum provided in second-cycle secondary schools has helped to guide these new pupils towards vocational courses, which were chosen by 51 per cent of applicants in 1973 as against 38 per cent in 1971.(2)

It is however likely that this trend will be less evident in post-compulsory educational systems where fairly differentiated curricula or institutions exist, particularly those providing broad opportunities for part-time study (Germany, United Kingdom). According to the forecasts of the German Educational Planning Commission, the distribution of pupils among the four options available after

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1) The Reform of Secondary Education. A Report of the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, McGraw-Hill, 1973.

2) B.A. Silfverberg, Gymnasieskolan, the Integrated Upper Secondary School in Sweden, (mimeographed).

Table 20

PERCENTAGE OF 15-19 AGE GROUP IN TOTAL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS AGED 16-19 IN TOTAL WORKING POPULATION

	Total Population		Working Population	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Germany	6.5	8.1	9.5	11.0
Belgium	7.5	8.0	8.1	7.2
United States	9.1	9.0	8.7	8.3
Finland	9.4	9.0	7.4	3.5
France	8.5	7.8	8.4	6.2
Italy	7.3	7.7	7.8	6.8
Japan	8.8	6.9	7.7	5.5
Netherlands	8.5	8.3	11.6	6.4
United Kingdom	6.9	8.0	9.5	9.0
Sweden	6.9	6.6	5.8	4.1

Table 21

ACTIVITY RATIO OF YOUNG PEOPLE OF 15-19 YEARS IN 1970 AND 1980

	1970			1980		
	Male	Fem.	Total	Male	Fem.	Total
Germany	64.1	81.8	63.0	59.4	58.5	59.0
Belgium	44.5	42.0	44.0	37.5	37.5	37.5
Denmark	51.7	41.2	46.0	33.9	33.0	33.8
United States	57.6	43.1	50.7	56.7	41.5	44.8
France	47.8	38.2	43.0	36.7	31.2	34.2
Italy	45.9	34.2	40.1	38.2	28.0	33.0
Japan	45.0	45.0	45.0	40.0	40.0	40.0
Netherlands	53.0	53.0	53.0	19.0	33.0	26.2
United Kingdom	63.1	64.1	63.5	49.1	51.5	50.1
Sweden	41.9	39.6	40.0	29.1	28.6	29.0
Switzerland	61.2	59.9	60.5	53.2	57.9	55.0

Table 22

SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATIO FOR YOUNG PEOPLE OF 15-19 YEARS IN 1970 AND 1980

	1970			1980		
	Male	Fem.	Total	Male	Fem.	Total
Germany	38.0	37.0	37.5	42.0	41.0	41.5
France	49.7	53.3	51.5	61.4	63.7	63.0
Italy	37.3	26.0	31.5	56.2	44.2	50.0
Netherlands	52.6	37.5	45.0	80.6	62.8	71.0

Source: (of all three tables) Demographic Trends, op. cit.

the 10 years of primary and secondary education should change as follows(1) (Table 23).

Table 23

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN DIFFERENT POST-COMPULSORY STUDY COURSES IN GERMANY

	1970	1980
- leading to higher education	15.1	19
- leading to a vocation qualification as well as to certain forms of post-secondary education	3.2	9
- qualifying for a skilled occupation		
- full-time	9.5	14
- part-time (apprenticeship)	63.1	53
- affording direct entry into working life	9.1	5
	100.0	100.0

In the United Kingdom, 45 per cent of the 16-19 age group will be attending school on a full-time basis in 1981 (as against 27 per cent in 1971), while the rate of part-time school enrolment will remain constant (18 per cent).

This increase is likely to be much greater in the developing Member countries. According to Secretariat forecasts, average full-time school enrolment rates in second-cycle secondary education should increase from approximately 33 to 52 per cent for these five countries between 1969 and 1980. This increase in enrolments will be less due to population growth (except in Portugal and Turkey) than to the pressure of individual demand. The latter will be stimulated by the lengthening of compulsory schooling (which is to be increased to 8 years in every case) and by the efforts to reorganise post-compulsory secondary education. It will also be supported by a high growth rate of G.N.P. and by the special efforts designed to increase the number of places available in technical and vocational schools (particularly in Greece and Turkey).

B. EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL POLICY OBJECTIVES

The overall approach, described in the introduction with a view to sketching a new model for options for young people at the end of their basic schooling, requires that sectoral policy measures

1) Federal Republic of Germany. Bund Länder Commission for educational planning - General Plan for Education, 1973.

Table 24

ANTICIPATED SCHOOL ENROLMENT RATES IN DEVELOPING MEMBER COUNTRIES(*)

	Age group	1969	1980
Greece	14-17	49	70
Portugal	15-18	22	43
Spain	14-17	32(a)	58
Turkey	16-18	17	31
Yugoslavia	15-18	44(a)	70

(a) 1970

Sources: (*) Education in OECD Developing Countries, Trends and Perspectives, OECD, Paris, 1974.

(relating to second-cycle secondary education, for example) be implemented within the broader framework of the social or youth policies now being developed in many Member countries. This approach therefore calls for the redefinition of certain sectoral objectives - educational in particular - with reference to more general social objectives which concern young people as a whole.

The adoption by the Council of the OECD of a list of social concerns and the formulation(1) of corresponding indicators lead to the definition of a set of "societal" objectives for reference purposes, designed to increase well-being and improve quality of life: individual development through learning,(2) the improvement of working conditions and quality of working life, freedom to organise time and leisure activities, and the lessening of social inequalities deserve special mention here since such social policy objectives will influence considerably the opportunities offered to individuals during the pre-adulthood stage, which will largely determine their future status in employment and in society.

Among the means recommended for achieving these objectives, the Secretariat drew attention to the need for greater flexibility as between education, employment and leisure, and for the greatest possible individual freedom in allocating time among these different activities. In this respect, the introduction of forms of recurrent education(3) is a decisive proposal, and it is with reference to such a long-term strategy that proposals designed to provide young people with new opportunities for choice must be discussed.

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1) List of Social Concerns common to most OECD Countries, OECD, Paris, 1973.

2) Social Indicators for the Primary Goal Area: Individual Development through Learning, OECD document, mimeo.

3) Recurrent Education, OECD, Paris, 1975, p. 52.

When new social objectives are adopted, it is essential to redefine the relationships between education and employment or between the educational system and working life. The Secretary-General's Ad Hoc Group, which was convened to study this problem, formulated recommendations (referred to later in the text) for defining "a positive policy for working life", an integrated educational policy which would lead to better co-ordination between the two.

It is well known that the introduction of forms of recurrent education will call for radical changes in the structure and objectives of the whole educational system, but a prerequisite for implementing such a scheme "is a restructuring of the educational opportunities available to young people, during the years preceding and following compulsory schooling, and also during employment and other socially useful activities".(1) The aim is to make available at the end of a period of basic education common to all young people, wide opportunities of individual choice among different social and educational activities:

- which may be modified or changed;
- which rather than hinder actually encourage subsequent intellectual development;
- which do not accentuate social inequalities but on the contrary promote equality of opportunity throughout life;
- which reconcile individual aspirations with technical and economic needs.

It may well be that the multiplicity of these choices (provided that they are coherent, authentic and apparent to everyone) will help to bring about a satisfactory socialisation of young people and to achieve some degree of balance between individual aspirations and financial or economic constraints. It is likely however that any such balance will require the nature of the position of the group of young people in society to be defined.

The adoption and effective application of the principle that society has a special responsibility for young people, both in terms of economic efficiency and social equity, is one essential dimension. In this way, young people are implicitly considered as a group entitled to a distinct social and cultural identity within the population, just as any other specific group or minority recognised in any pluralistic society.(2) This concept of responsibility rules out the idea of imposing any increased social controls on young people, subjecting them to certain rigid obligations or granting them a dependent or assisted status such as to segregate them in society.

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1) Education and Working Life in Modern Society, op. cit.

2) This by no means excludes the fact that other groups (elderly persons, immigrants) have more crucial problems and that these should be considered as first priorities.

The concept could serve as a framework for the formulation of a social policy for young people - wider than the traditional idea of youth policy - which could co-ordinate and integrate not only measures envisaged in the fields of leisure, culture and sport but also those relating to education, vocational preparation and training, entry into working life and the assumption by young people of a share of social responsibility.(1)

Such a policy could first make it possible to establish the precise social situation of young people by co-ordinating the various measures relating to voting rights, civil liability, employment, etc. and harmonizing the corresponding ages; but above all the policy could replace the principle of protection by the idea of "opportunities to be made available". In the past, all countries adopted measures in favour of young people, designed to compel families to give them assistance, care and education - taking over these duties when families failed to provide - and to prevent abuses or exploitation in employment.(2) But in a changing context these humanitarian measures may be felt as a form of institutional control or constraint (by the family, school, or justice) and sustain the idea of segregation vis-à-vis the adult world; in the same way, labour regulations may hinder the acquisition of job experience, participation in economic life, or the assumption of certain responsibilities. To avoid such risks the Coleman Commission(3) recommended a re-examination of the administrative regulations governing the employment of young people and proposed the introduction of a "dual minimum wage" to encourage employers to take on and train young people with no job qualifications. However, it is clear that difficulties encountered by young people in entering employment or acquiring job experience are due less to rules designed for their protection than to lack of qualification, defects in the information, guidance and placement services and to the low quality of some of the jobs offered and, more particularly, by the limited number of jobs available.

In this connection, measures envisaged for several years in many Member countries incline towards increased responsibility of the public authorities as regards the vocational training of young

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1) Education and Working Life in Modern Society, op. cit.

2) The regulations governing the employment of children and adolescents were also intended to give priority to adult employment in times of economic crisis; in the thirties for example the United States ratified a constitutional amendment which aimed at limiting or prohibiting the employment of persons under 18 years of age in certain sectors. In the present economic context, it is wise to bear in mind these earlier preoccupations.

3) Youth: Transition to Adulthood, Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, Washington, June, 1973.

people. The French Educational Commission of the Sixth Plan, for example, states that by the end of the Plan (1976) "no young person will have to leave the school system without first having received suitable vocational training". Furthermore, this responsibility causes a wider concept of education to be advocated, one which is not merely technical and vocational but also covers the educational and cultural needs of young people and their entry into society while meeting their aspirations. The taking into account of these needs tends to increase the value and profitability of technical and vocational training.

In the educational system, the idea of social responsibility implies a change in the nature of the relationships between young people, the school and the community. Authoritarian relationships tend to give way to relationships based on the recognition of increased autonomy and greater freedom of choice for young people. Within educational institutions a trend towards participation by students in the planning(1) and management of the establishments as well as in the teaching underlies the majority of recent reforms. The measures adopted in Norway,(2) Sweden and Germany,(3) recently introduced in Italy and envisaged in the French Plan(4) etc. provide examples here. In general, they imply the setting up of co-ordinating bodies (class, institution, local, district committees, etc.), an extensive decentralisation of decision-making and, in cases where this did not exist before, a large measure of financial and teaching independence for individual establishments. These new provisions are not always simple to apply and the inexperience of young people, their under-representation on co-ordinating bodies and the divergent interests of individual groups have sometimes been obstacles. Furthermore, the change in the legal status of pupils has often failed to affect the system of formal relationships or the hierarchical method of transmitting knowledge. Experiments in "participatory education" have become widespread in the majority of Member countries over the last few years and the results are extremely encouraging.

The concept of a contract for education and, more generally, the majority of ideas advocating more personalised learning, self-education and increasing participation of adolescents in the

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1) Participatory planning in education, OECD, 1972.

2) Reviews of National policies for education - Norway basic report, Chapter III, OECD, Paris, 1976.

3) Goldschmidt: Participatory Democracy in School and Higher Education, Emerging Problems in the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden, February 1975, mimeo.

4) Propositions pour une modernisation du système éducatif français, La Documentation française, 1975. Projet de loi relatif à L'Education, no. 1736, Assemblée Nationale, Paris, June 1975.

definition of the aims pursued in their studies have been put forward in some countries.(1) Under this choice or contract system, which has been tried out in some pilot schools in the United States, the pupil defines his own learning pace, chooses certain methods of work, determines part of the content and organises his own rate of progress in the form of contracts discussed with the teachers. This procedure should encourage the adolescent (and subsequently the adult) to take control of his own education, and should lead to teacher-student relationships based on dialogue, reciprocity and complementarity rather than on authority and domination. The system requires a radical change in the role of the teacher,(2) in the educational and social status of the pupil and in the examination system and the significance of diplomas, as well as a "school centred on the pupils and open to the outside world".(3) A basis for this contractual concept might be, as is partly the case for labour legislation, to define and attempt to achieve a balance between the rights, obligations and responsibilities of pupils and students towards both the school and the teachers, as proposed by the Commission for the reform of secondary education in the United States.(4) Provisions of this type have in fact existed for a long time in certain post-compulsory establishments (the Scandinavian High Folk Schools for example).

Any experiment or effort which attempts to open up the school to the surrounding environment or to "the outside world", to secure the participation of the school and pupils in community development or its co-operation with the working world and with local social and administrative services necessarily involves important changes in the relationship between young people and the community. An analysis of these experiments, to which reference may be made, has been carried out recently.(5)

An approach such as the one set out above leads to the linkage of educational objectives to those of economic, social, cultural and other policies and to a recommendation that they should all be co-ordinated under overall social policy. This process implies that the aims of education should be stated more explicitly and even, to

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1) A proposal has recently been put forward in the United Kingdom to create, along the lines of the Open University, an Open College for 16-19 year olds who have left the educational system. Times Higher Education Supplement, 16th May, 1975.

2) The important problem of the role of the teacher is not dealt with in this report. It is the subject of a series of reports prepared for the "Conference on Teacher Policies" (27th-29th November, 1974).

3) "La fonction enseignante dans le second degré". Rapport de la Commission d'études. La Documentation française, Paris, 1972.

4) The Reform of Secondary Education, op. cit., Chapter 11.

5) School and Community, CERI/OECD, 1975.

some extent, reformulated. For although it is easy to set out these aims in very general terms (personal development, equalisation of opportunities, satisfaction of skilled manpower requirements), it is more difficult to define their content or co-ordinate them with related goals in other social sectors. Many Member countries are following this course and several projects to reform the educational system intend to do so along these lines. The Finnish(1) project may be given as an example. This project, after defining the effects of education on social development, closely links the aims of education policy to those of social welfare policy, particularly as regards raising the general level of knowledge, facilitating access to cultural activities, contributing to the reduction of social inequalities and spreading values in accord with the principles of democracy and the rights of man.

It is possible, in very broad outline, to restate the goals of second-cycle secondary education as they appear in the reform projects, according to orders of priority reflecting the preferences of the national authorities, who are alone responsible for making the necessary decisions.

i) Personal development and fulfilment, a major function of basic education, remains an outstanding goal at this level. Secondary schools admit adolescents at a crucial period of their development, characterised by the discovery of social relationships, the acceptance and identification (or rejection) of ideals and values, creative outbursts, need for autonomy, etc. The school must attempt to provide young people with the psychological and intellectual means to overcome their own problems and understand those of the community and the society in which they live. In fulfilling this aim, the school complements and sometimes competes with other social institutions such as the family and the mass media. Choosing one's own form of teaching, self-education or group methods, increased pupil participation, a more adult atmosphere in individual establishments, the introduction of social and occupational experiences and of craft, art and sports activities in school curricula, as advocated by reform projects, should help to achieve this aim. Many present concerns are involved, such as the preparation for civic responsibilities, active participation in social and cultural life, preparation for the subsequent use of opportunities, continuing education, the development of communication among human beings, etc.;

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1) Reform of Secondary Education, Summary of the Report of 1971, Education Committee, Helsinki, 1974.

ii) The equalisation of opportunities is also an important goal at this level of schooling, although many surveys show that few results have been achieved in this area and that social background, the "hidden curriculum", and the early stages of education are the determinant factors here.(1) The fact that it is not compulsory, and that certain pupils are therefore excluded and the higher costs (direct or earnings forgone) which access to this level of education implies, the existence of more varied teaching structures and, in certain countries, the presence of a vast network of private schools, and finally the wider geographical dispersion of schools tend to aggravate inequalities and require appropriate measures to be taken. The latter which advocate open, flexible, progressive and more equal choices are part of this approach. This is also true for more specific measures,(2) such as those designed to make the same financial resources and personnel available to all second-cycle secondary establishments so that teaching may be of uniform quality, or the use of subsidies and grants to compensate for differences in the students' ability to finance their own education, the development of welfare projects, etc.(3)

It is nevertheless increasingly evident that some of these measures will not achieve their goals unless other measures are envisaged to complement and co-ordinate those taken with regard to income redistribution, regional development, cultural and recreational policy, access to community services, etc.

iii) Preparation for working life is a more specific goal at this level of education, when important occupational choices are made, but the content and criteria which govern the ways in which this task is shared among the school system, other training institutions and the working world are not always very clearly stated and probably vary to a large extent among countries. There is nevertheless a certain ambiguity in that the increasing difficulties for young people in entering working life or their attitudes towards work are generally blamed on the school rather than on

1) On these points reference should be made to the reports submitted to the Seminar on Education, Inequality and Life Chances, OECD (January 1975).

2) See e.g. Reviews of National Policies for Education. Norway, op. cit.

3) The range of financial measures and, in particular, financial aid for secondary school students or their families will not be discussed here. They will be the subject of a Secretariat study in the near future.

other variables (employment and wage structure, operation of the labour market, the social hierarchy of values attached to different jobs, working and on-the-job training conditions, etc.). More generally, a definition of the school system's goals as related to the working world rarely takes account of these fundamental factors, which are indeed difficult to grasp. Such a definition stresses rather the acquisition of basic training which will allow individuals to adapt to changes in and to requirements of the working world, and to take advantage throughout their lives of opportunities for continuing education. Other aspects of the question, however, such as skills or specialisations, the content of training programmes or relationships with the working world are viewed in very different ways from country to country.

The existence of common goals in secondary education must not be taken to mean that the priorities and resources used to achieve these goals are identical in all cases. Depending on the country concerned, aims are pursued either by advocating a rather similar and only slightly diversified form of comprehensive education such as to extend basic education, or by retaining a dual structure, where preparation for higher studies and vocational preparation or guidance are kept separate.

In the following section, the various trends corresponding to these structural changes will be examined:

- Two introductory questions, i.e. restructuring of the basic school and the extension of compulsory schooling, will first be discussed.
- Tendencies common to the various reforms of second-cycle secondary education which have been introduced or are being discussed in Member countries will be set out at greater length.
- Lastly, certain problems of improving young people's opportunities for entry into working life will be dealt with.

C. MAIN TRENDS AND ISSUES

1. A preliminary problem: Restructuring the basic school system (and in particular the curricula in compulsory secondary education).

The only aspect of this question(1) which will be mentioned here is the effect on subsequent choices made by young people and on

1) It is the subject of an ongoing CERI project based on the identification of innovations at this level of education.

modes of transition from compulsory education to the various options available on departure.

With reference to the objectives of education policy generally accepted by Member countries, this level of education must first of all provide all adolescents with the knowledge, ability and basic know-how which will enable them to avail themselves of all subsequent opportunities for educational, personal and vocational development, in particular those offered upon leaving the basic school. It must help to reduce inequalities arising from family, social and cultural environment, and continue the efforts made in this direction at pre-school and primary levels. These leading goals mean that such basic education should be somewhat independent of the following cycle and should exclude (or limit) any educational or vocational pre-selection or guidance at this level. In most Member countries, these objectives should be capable of being achieved by:

i) the intensive diversification and personalisation of teaching methods, means, resources and time periods involved(1) in order to meet the needs of pupils whose background, aspirations, and development differ considerably;

ii) avoiding such instances of discrimination as allocating children among different establishments or streams, making them repeat classes, basing orientation on poor performance and promoting too early specialisation;

iii) recourse to supportive and remedial teaching for children who fall behind.

Many measures adopted in a number of Member countries at such a level lead in this direction. To begin with, there is a very clear tendency to favour a structural model such as the intermediate comprehensive school introduced in Sweden, in the United Kingdom and subsequently in other countries during the last 10 years: the multiplication of the "Gesamtschulen pilotes" will be remembered, as well as the generalisation laid down in the recent "Bildungsgesamtplan" in Germany, the plan to abolish sections in the CES in France, the adoption of projects for intermediate schools in Spain, Portugal, Turkey, etc. All these reforms tend to reduce the differentiation between different lines of study and to extend the period of the core curriculum. While these changes have helped to reduce strong social inequalities, disparities nevertheless remain because of the need which is felt to stream pupils according to ability. With very few exceptions (United States, Sweden), where core curricula and a largely common form of teaching have been adopted at this level, the type of educational differentiation which

1) Which casts some doubt on the idea of an age limit for the end of compulsory schooling (or length of compulsory schooling) identical for all, if basic education is compulsory.

can meet the diversity of tastes and abilities of pupils without maintaining or increasing social inequalities is still hotly debated. Many of the innovations in structure, content and methods of the compulsory secondary school as well as "remedial" courses offered have attempted to provide partial solutions.

One element in this debate is the place which should be given at this level of education to vocational preparation. The lack of interest in general studies shown by some of the young people who probably leave school as soon as they legally can tends to justify the existence of vocational courses preparing for entry into working life. But there is a risk that any such curriculum will give rise to internal differentiation and maintain a process of selection far removed from the principle of equality of opportunity. There are several possible solutions which would imply:

i) putting off vocational training until after the end of basic schooling for all those intending to enter working life (to do this appropriate forms of in-school and out-of-school training would have to be introduced;

ii) modifying the content of the middle school curricula, in order to include were practical education directly linked to working life.

This trend leads to a certain unification of primary and first-cycle secondary education, so that the latter becomes terminal in character and plays an important part in access to the second cycle, which was formerly simply an extension of the first. Transition from one cycle to the other takes place at a decisive level of orientation; a number of selection mechanisms, such as the choice of certain subjects or the increasing importance of end-of-cycle examinations, tend to emerge or to be strengthened and these run counter to certain teaching principles of the comprehensive school. This problem is a subject for concern in some countries: thus in Sweden and Norway radical measures are envisaged to remedy the situation, such as abolishing final examinations, making use of criteria other than school performance, providing unrestricted access to post-compulsory secondary education, etc.

2. <u>The extension of compulsory education</u>

The tendency to prolong the length of compulsory education which has been observed for the past 15 years has recently been questioned. The Permanent Conference of the European Ministers of Education, which drew up the project, did not retain it at the 1973 session.

In many countries the obligation itself(1) has even been re-assessed in the light of criticisms directed against the school by certain groups and by certain pupils who are increasingly unwilling to accept the constraints of the last years of compulsory schooling.

In the 19th century compulsory education was introduced in the context of a society which was being urbanised and industrialised. New means of production and existence required that certain basic knowledge be acquired and that all children be literate;(2) other reasons (national integration, equality of opportunity, social protection of children) justified its introduction. In a context where knowledge and techniques were progressing, and there was rapid social change, the level of knowledge required increased progr ssively and voluntary school attendance frequently preceded the introduction of compulsory education.

Although it is now agreed in many Member countries that the desirable length of compulsory education today is from 8 to 10 years, this is only an average figure which may vary according to the assessment made in each country of the minimum level of knowledge to be provided for all individuals, taking into account the degree of national economic development, the importance attached to education and the goals assigned to it.(3) The following arguments are against the extension of compulsory schooling beyond the age of 15-16:

i) The increased pace at which new knowledge is developed justifies spreading periods of learning over a lifetime rather than concentrating them in youth.

ii) In the absence of sufficient student motivation, keeping adolescents at school is unwarranted, unless the idea is to keep them off the streets or to reduce the number of persons seeking employment.

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1) In economic terms, compulsion confers on educational services the character of guardianship; the constraint exercised by the state - in the name of the community - is justified by the considerable importance of the external effects of generalised school attendance and which, imperfectly understood by individuals, might cause them to underestimate their own preferences, particularly in a context where school attendance implies earnings forgone (children's work). Is this "correction" of the preferences of individuals still justified, except in the cases of marginal groups, in a context which is characterised by a strong individual demand for education?

2) D. S. Landes: Industry Skills and Knowledge in Education Structures and Society, Penguin Books, 1972, p. 71.

3) For example, the provision of occupational training for everyone, either within the school system, or in conjunction with it leads to a lengthening of compulsory schooling: this is the case in Austria and Germany, where apprentices aged from 15 to 18 have to attend the Berufschulen for one or two days each week in order to follow courses which supplement practical training given within the firm.

iii) To extend compulsory schooling beyond 10 years can help only marginally to equalise opportunities, and it would be more appropriate to develop early childhood education.

vi) Lastly, certain criticisms of school describing it as a selective institution divorced from real life and creating scholastic failure so that any possible subsequent educational experience is heavily compromised, are mentioned frequently.

In some countries, moreover, it is proposed that the length of compulsory schooling be reduced - from 10 to 8 years, for example, according to the United States National Commission on the reform of secondary education,(1) or that some adolescents be allowed to leave school before reaching the official leaving age. These measures are controversial, however, as they are hardly likely to improve the position of the young people involved and they offer no solution to the serious problems of scholastic failure or of the school's lack of adaptation.

In other Member countries there are interesting proposals under consideration. These are designed to offer students completing compulsory schooling and older people educational opportunities better adapted to young people's aspirations.

i) Some of these proposals are of a very specific nature, such as the formula introduced in 1971 in the Netherlands enabling all young workers aged from 15 to 18 to receive one or two days each week a general training focusing on contemporary problems and making use of the group methods employed in adult education; in the future, this active form of teaching would be developed on a broader basis integrating educational problems with those of social life.

ii) Other proposals are more general and are based on the adoption of new principles. One such case is the decision taken in Norway giving everyone the right to three years of study after the end of compulsory schooling, or the granting of loans, time for training or educational leave of absence recently introduced by several Member countries.(2) The extension of forms of adult(3) education and the main provisions of second-cycle secondary education are also moves in this direction.

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1) The Reform of Secondary Education, op. cit., p. 133.

2) Developments in Educational Leave of Absence, OECD/CERI. To be published.

3) Learning opportunities for adults. To be published.

3. Reforms in post-compulsory secondary education: general trends

Although it is possible to say that within the Member countries the various structures of the compulsory school are converging towards a comprehensive, universal model, it is less easy to define the criteria of change and to describe the tendencies marking post-compulsory educational structures (school or other institutions). The changes introduced or planned at this level however constitute a leading problem of education policy (and were the theme of the 1973 Session of the Permanent Conference of European Ministers of Education). A brief provisional analysis of the changes countries have adopted by following different strategies and on the basis of very different national situations is set out below.(1)

Whereas in the non-European Member countries general and vocational education have much in common, in most European Member countries second-cycle secondary education is marked by considerable differences between these two streams; a modification of these lies at the heart of many reform projects. In some countries (Spain in 1970, Sweden in 1971, Norway in 1974) plans along these lines have been adopted and are already in force, while in other countries they are still being discussed.

These reforms may deal with this level of education alone (Italy, Sweden), cover the whole field of secondary schooling

1) The various general reforms to which reference should be made are set out in the following documents:

Germany:	Bildungsgesamtplan, 2 vols., E. Klett Verlag, Stuttgart, 1973. (A shortened English version is available).
Spain:	La Educación en Espana; bases para una politica educativa, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Madrid, 1971.
Finland:	Reform of secondary education. Summary of Report of 1971 Education Committee, Helsinki, 1974.
France:	Propositions pour une modernisation du système français, op. cit.
Italy:	Documento conclusivo della Commissaione Biasini, 1971, mimeo.
Norway:	Reviews of National Policies for Education, op. cit. Reform of Upper Secondary Education in Norway, the National Council for Innovation in Education, Oslo, 1974.
Sweden:	B.A. Silfverberg: The Integrated Upper Secondary School in Sweden, SME/ET/74.88.
Switzerland:	Enseignement secondaire de demain. Rapport de la Commission d'experts, Annuaire de la Conférence suisse des Directeurs cantonaux de l'Instruction Publique: Verlag Huber, Frauenfeld, 1972.

Reference should also be made to a paper by the Council of Europe, "Educational needs of the 16 to 19 years age group", country reports, Permanent Conference of European Education Ministers, Strasbourg, 1973.

(Finland, Switzerland) or form part of plans for the renovation of the entire school system (Germany, France). In most cases the projects have been drawn up by national commissions and have been intensively discussed. Work by the commissions has been carried out in conjunction with pilot studies by experimental establishments (pilot Gymnasia in Germany, Norway and Sweden, experimental lycées in France and Italy, etc.). In some areas of countries with decentralised education systems new types of establishment have been developed, such as the "Sixth Form Colleges" or "Tertiary Colleges" in certain parts of England or the "Kollegstufen" in Rhineland-Westphalia.

While these reform proposals differ considerably they all advocate links between the school and real life and are more or less implicitly based on two apparently conflicting principles, i.e. differentiation and integration.

i) As at post-secondary level, valid reasons for the differentiation of options are the increasing variety of pupil motivations, abilities, qualifications and expectations, the diversification of qualifications required and of social functions to be assumed by educational institutions as well as the desire to make education more personal and increasingly test individual educational methods. The question is one of rectifying existing situations where the small number of opportunities available and the rigidity of educational structures limit choices. This differentiation takes many forms; it deals with educational opportunities both within and outside the school, the types of institution where such training can be acquired, methods of entry and guidance, the range of courses offered, the structure and content of courses, teaching methods, methods of assessing performance, etc.

ii) The purpose of integration is also to reduce the rigid divisions and sharp compartmentalisation in traditional structures between activities offered (study or work), courses (general or technical), contents (theoretical or practical), types of school (or different types of teacher) as well as between functions (preparation for higher education or employment) and qualifications (educational or vocational). Lastly integration may be mentioned in connection with different client groups (young people and adults) and with the functions of the school as a part of the surrounding community.(1)

1) In the document entitled Reviews of National Policies for Education, Norway, op. cit. Chapter V a particularly pertinent analysis of the areas in which integration is advocated by education policy in this country can be found.

True, the content of these two principles and the relationship between them are not always clearly set out and the implications are sometimes the subject of lively discussion and controversy. The two principles are sometimes used to justify quite different concepts, depending on whether the newly proposed second-cycle structures recommend: (i) that the existing comprehensive model for basic education be extended to the second cycle or (ii) keeping the differences between courses. Nonetheless, the two principles remain at the heart of the problem of the opportunities available for young people at the end of their compulsory education. In order to clarify the content of these reforms of second-cycle secondary education the following points will be examined:

a) the unification of the institutional framework;
b) the diversification of the structure of studies;
c) the integration of general education with technical and vocational education;
d) the reorganisation of vocational education;
e) alternating education and employment.

a) The new institutional framework

One characteristic of reform projects is the search for a uniform institutional framework through the co-ordination or merging of different types of traditional second-cycle institutions. The reform introduced in Sweden(1) in 1971 led to the setting up of an integrated secondary school (Gymnasieskola) which includes the three former types of parallel institutions (fackskola, vocational schools and gymnasia - themselves the result of integrating various general, technical and commercial gymnasia in 1956). This type of comprehensive school, attended by all young people who continue their studies beyond their basic schooling (i.e. 71 per cent of the age group in 1972), should mean that social differences, resulting from entry into different schools and inequalities of status as between the different options available, can be reduced, while the prestige of vocational education is expected to increase. The integrated schools should also make individual choices and transfers between courses easier; lastly, such a uniform institutional framework should favour a better allocation of financial resources or personnel and a more efficient use of common services.

The merging of establishments enables a very large range of options, curricula and activities to be provided, as in the case of the "Tertiary Colleges" in England, which offer all the options existing in the Sixth Form Colleges (the Sixth Form Colleges group together the various courses of general education leading to "GCE"

1) Silfverberg: op. cit.

"A" and "O" levels and "OND") and in further-education colleges, for full and part-time students, both young people and adults (such as general studies, commercial courses, pre-vocational courses and re-creational activities) as well as a wide variety of recreational activities, clubs, societies, etc. The exceptional range of possibilities calls for large establishments (5,000 to 7,000 students), which in terms of size and functions are similar to some post-secondary colleges (Community Colleges in the United States, for example).(1)

Although the merging of various types of general and vocational educational establishments is a principle common to most reform projects (Germany, Norway, Italy, etc.), others do not propose any such course of action. Examples are the Spanish and French projects, which retain a dual structure and where general or technical pre-university courses and vocational courses are kept separate.

b) Diversification of the structure of studies

Under most of the reform plans a uniform, comprehensive institutional framework may be a necessary requisite for differentiating courses and curricula (a point which remains in dispute) but not sufficient of itself. Yet such diversification is at the core of all reform projects, their aim being to increase the options available and to offer choices of a flexible nature. This concept of differentiation refers both to a state of affairs, (i.e. to the range of courses or studies available) and to a progression from basic courses (common to all pupils or otherwise) towards courses of a more specific or optional nature. An educational structure based on a system of credits and modules capable of being combined in such a way as to make up coherent "blocks" might well enable a high degree of differentiation to be obtained; such a structure, largely similar to that found in quite a number of other secondary establishments, has been adopted in Canada (Ontario and Quebec) and in the experimental secondary establishments of many countries.(2) Its efficient functioning seems to require a wide range of teaching units, in particular for vocational purposes (at present being introduced in

1) It will be noted that in the United States, where the single secondary school has existed for a long time, proposals have been put forward to diversify institutions, reduce compulsory school attendance and set up types of informal education similar to those being developed at post-secondary level: "alternative" schools and curricula. The National Commission for the Reform of Secondary Education has put forward recommendations to this effect. See The Reform of Secondary Education, op. cit., Chapters 7 and 9.

2) For example, in the United States, the MacCluer High Schools (St. Louis), Marshall (Oregon) or the famous Parkway School (Philadelphia). See: New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks, United States, OECD, 1974, p. 105.

United States high schools to promote career education). Such a structure also offers extremely flexible means of assessment: each teaching unit may be separately assessed and combined with other units in many different ways. This kind of structure may nevertheless lead to an excessive dispersion and compartmentalisation of knowledge, which may prevent consistent training profiles from being defined or hinder the process of acquiring knowledge.

This is apparently the reason why the majority of the reform plans contain proposals, on a wide variety of models, for more marked vertical and horizontal structures.

i) The Swedish integrated school offers a good example of a high degree of diversification in the structure of studies: it is organised in twenty-two "alternative" curricula organised into three common cores (corresponding to the previous three- or four-year options in the former gymnasia and the two-year courses of the former "fackskola" and vocational schools). These three cores are open to all pupils and co-ordinated among themselves. The transfer possibilities and exchanges and allowing credit for subjects chosen as between different curricula allow the student to make varying successive choices and orientations. These transfers do not, however, seem to be of equal standing, and most take place within each of the three groups. Transfer from a two-year vocational curriculum to a three-year general curriculum thus means going back to the first-year course or calls for the study of certain additional subjects, and appears to be extremely unusual. In 1972, according to an initial survey, less than 2 per cent of pupils in the two-year curricula made the change.

ii) The Kollegschulen envisaged by the German reform project and already tried in Rhineland-Westphalia represent another type of organisation. This is based on the juxtaposition of independent but co-ordinated departments (Abteilungen) which provide both general and vocational education. They are made up of one or more subject sections (Fachbereiche) corresponding to the traditional disciplines but interconnected and enlarged. Thus, departments of mathematics and sciences, languages, sociology and economics, etc. may be noted. But the choice of different types of content must make it possible to aim for different goals by taking multidisciplinary courses (for example a science course and a language course to obtain a certain qualification), basic courses, specific courses and thematic courses which can be combined according to certain rules in order to make up a curriculum.

iii) The reform introduced in Norway proposes another model for the organisation of studies by offering the following programmes(1):

"Basic courses of one or two years' duration. One-year courses provide basic vocational training or general education. Two-year courses shall have a common nucleus of general subjects. In addition, the pupils can choose among vocational or general subjects, aesthetic subjects, physical training or combinations of such subjects.

One- or two-year advanced courses emphasizing either general or vocational subjects. In such courses, part of the training can take place at work.

Shorter courses, some of which can be taken intermittently and be combined in such a way as to correspond to courses of longer duration.

Courses as mentioned above, as part-time education. Pupils may also attend the teaching in specific subjects of their choice, as offered in full-time education."

These vertical structural models are associated in most reform plans with the principle of progressive differentiation of the curricula during the two- to four-year study course. This process, which often begins during the last years of basic schooling, starts from a common-core curriculum and branches into a fairly large set of options. These optional courses are oriented towards certain fields or deal with certain basic subjects in depth, and also provide supplementary instruction covering a wide range so as to broaden the knowledge of the pupil or offer an opportunity for later transfer to some other field. Finally, in certain cases, part of the timetable is reserved for practical work or kept free for research or personal or group activities within or outside the school (in France, for example, the experiment has been tried of leaving each school to determine for itself the allocation of 10 per cent of the timetable).

These several sectors (groups of basic subjects and groups of optional subjects) are of course differently broken down, leaving the student with varying degrees of freedom of choice. Several examples may be mentioned:

i) Under the German system of Kollegstufen, mentioned above, the various courses are grouped together in three sectors corresponding to a study profile (Schwerpunktprofil), a compulsory sector (Pflichtbereich) and a free-choice sector (Wahlbereich), representing some 40 per cent, 20-25 per cent and 20-40 per cent of the weekly timetable respectively.

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1) Reviews of National Policies for Education: Norway, op. cit., paragraph 58.

ii) The basic two-year curriculum proposed in the Norwegian plan is made up of a common core of compulsory subjects accounting for one-half of school time and two groups of optional subjects, one group reflecting the general trend of studies (one-quarter to one-third of the timetable) and the other group being left to the pupil's own choice.

iii) During the first two years of general education in lycées, the French plan offers a core curriculum of compulsory basic subjects (mother tongue, foreign languages, mathematics, social and economic sciences, physical and natural sciences and physical education) of 21-22 hours per week, together with optional subjects (6-12 hours) for studying in greater depth certain subjects of the core curriculum or taking other subjects. But in the third and last year all subjects are optional (except sports) and are grouped in two categories, "in-depth options" (options d'approfondissement), the choice depending on subsequent study or employment and "basic tools" (outils de base) (technical, mathematical or linguistic).

The diversified curricula and wider range of choices proposed in these reform plans require the use of a multiplicity of teaching methods whose object is to develop in the pupils an aptitude for self-education, as well as more independent attitudes through "independent work", individualised teaching, group work and the controlled use of information and free time. These methods, many of which have been advocated for several decades, have been very widely used in experimental establishments which try out new study patterns. Finally, the proposed plans seek to broaden the age range of students by opening educational establishments to adults and providing them with part-time courses or curricula adapted to their special needs.

c) Towards an integration of general, technical and vocational education

The tendency to combine, co-ordinate or integrate these types of education is very difficult to assess. It is however of considerable importance for improving co-ordination between general teaching and vocational teaching (which are completely separate in certain countries) and for decisively altering the present division between knowledge and work. This trend is due to technological progress, increased knowledge and its rapid renewal, which requires more general education for the individual. In fact, it is a question of providing the individual with a foundation for his retraining and continuing education, with facilities for personal adaptation so that he can actively contribute to change and develop several skills. Such a trend invalidates a number of assumptions, such as that of a

radical opposition between general and vocational education or the existence of two types of ability ("academic - theoretical" and "practical - vocational") warranting a division between intellectual and manual tasks combined with a wide scale of values and degrees of prestige.

This trend has several aspects. In part, it results from a dual but slow evolutionary process; on the one hand the desire to delay the entry of young people into a vocational training system and to reduce excessive specialisation in order to train pupils for a group of jobs results in more weight being given to general subjects in vocational education; on the other hand, the aim of providing vocational or social preparation in the same way as basic education to all young people in general education courses means that elements of technological or socio-economic education to be introduced or this type of study may even be "professionalised". The development in the United States of "career education" is a highly relevant example. The trend, however, takes many forms and is ambiguous in as much as the integration of various types of learning sometimes merely amounts to their being juxtaposed.

It is often evident between general and technical education only; short-term vocational education is not affected, especially when based on apprenticeship. The new structure of diversified education described above enables, as in the case of the Gesamtschulen or the Norwegian project, a common curriculum to be offered to pupils who formerly followed separate literary, scientific, technical and vocational lines of study; the leading subjects left to the pupils' choice may more or less correspond to the former more specialised areas of study, while complementary or optional subjects offer new forms of teaching, including some of a practical or prevocational nature.

The Swedish reform provides another example of integrated general and vocational education. In a single institution and within three broad fields of study (arts and social subjects, the economic and commercial courses, and the scientific and technical field) theoretical and practical options of varying length (one to four years) are offered. The strengthening of general education within more specialised curricula and the opportunities offered for entering higher education have clearly helped to improve the status of such education, bringing it closer to the level of other lines of study.

Certain experimental institutions have gone a long way towards integrating methods and curriculum content which used to belong to each specific type of general or vocational course. Such an effort points to the development of a certain degree of interdisciplinarity, i.e. the integration of elements from different subjects, or to

pluridisciplinarity, i.e. the integration of concepts and methods from other disciplines into some new subject, such as study of the community, the environment, etc. as in the integrated teaching project at Keele in the United Kingdom(1) or the Kollegstufen in North Rhine-Westphalia.(2) This attempt to close the gap between different disciplines nevertheless runs into many difficulties, e.g. the training of teachers in one subject only, and in vocational schools the division by separate subjects reflecting the general orientation of curricula and making up relatively rigid educational profiles.

This integration of subjects is central to the principle of polytechnic education adopted in the Yugoslavian reform.(3) Here the object is to establish - at all levels of the school system and especially in post-compulsory secondary education - a close relationship between general and technical knowledge (in particular that relevant to the production process) and practical training essentially acquired on the job. Adoption of the principle calls for a comprehensive structure, interaction among various disciplines and a close co-ordination of school activities with the world of work. It is intended during the first two years of post-compulsory study to introduce a common curriculum for teaching basic subjects (languages, mathematics and natural sciences, social and economic sciences, technology) to be followed by more specialised courses. The concept of polytechnic education is to permeate and inspire both teaching content and methods, by combining (i) knowledge of the physical, chemical and biological sciences with the study of practical applications in production or social sectors (health etc.); (ii) the teaching of social and economic sciences with practical problems of entrepreneurial and social organisation; (iii) technical courses with the production techniques in industries where pupils will work; or, (iv) optional subjects in other technical fields; and (v) numerous extra-curricula activities (clubs for young scientists and young technicians, school production co-operatives, etc.). Implementation of this principle calls for methods which stress observation, experimentation, practical work and group activities. Teachers from extremely varied training backgrounds will be needed, as will substantial resources (workshops, laboratories,

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1) Marten D. Shipman: "The Role of the Teacher in Selected Innovative Schools in the United Kingdom" in The Teacher and Educational Change: A New Role, OECD, Paris, 1974.

2) Research in connection with school experiments within the upper secondary level, Conference of Ministers of Education, Federal Republic of Germany.

3) S. Bezdanov: Polytechnical education as part of secondary education in Yugoslavia, European Cultural Foundation, 1974 (mimeo).

many kinds of equipment, agricultural land, etc.) either belonging to the school or available in the neighbouring community.

This co-ordination or integration of general and vocational studies is advocated by all reform projects, as a way of helping to equalise the status of various courses, making transfers or new choices easier and reducing the social inequalities marking the present allocation of pupils. But certain questions remain: can the acquisition of general knowledge be required from little motivated pupils learning a trade? How can this integration be reconciled with the objective of preparation for a trade, or in other words both satisfy specific needs of the labour market and provide the general education young people require for post-secondary education? Part of the answer to these questions can be found in the analysis of the many educational and vocational training changes introduced in Member countries of which several aspects will be described.

d) The reorganisation of vocational education

It is difficult to define trends in a type of education which is organised in very different ways according to country and in some countries marked by widely varying levels and qualities. No reference will be made here to discussions in particular countries concerning the status (public or private) of vocational training institutions, the desirable types of study (full-time or part-time) or the institutional framework which can best provide initial training(1) (schools and/or private firms). Certain common trends however emerge from these more detailed discussions.

First, the idea that the public authorities should be responsible for organising and controlling the vocational education of all young people is being accepted by a growing number of countries. This principle has often taken concrete form through the development of a legal framework and coherent policy for vocational training laying down the characteristics of initial training and relationships with basic and later education. The Vocational Training Act (Berufsbildungsgesetz) adopted in Germany in 1969 or the 1971 Technological Teaching Act (i.e. technical and vocational) in France are examples of this.

The strengthening of basic education and the stress placed on equality of opportunity have pointed to the advisability of postponing the age of entry into vocational training until 15 or 16. Studies in genetic psychology have moreover shown that the practical abilities of young people cannot effectively be detected before the

1) P. Drouet: "Les critères de choix des systèmes de formation professionnelle", in Revue internationale du Travail. Vol. 98, No. 3, September 1968.

age of 16. This means that the coherence and continuity of courses should be re-considered. This might lead to the introduction of a vocational or transitional phase (a common core of knowledge) which would precede the acquisition of wider qualifications and provde the sort of comprehensive training required for further study and subsequent retraining.

The overall changing context of vocational education is clearly illustrated by certain specific tendencies. The reform of vocational curricula in the integrated Swedish school is a good example of the trend towards despecialisation(1) and towards providing more general knowledge so that pupils can receive a more comprehensive education and transfers or new choices be made easier. In the French system of short-term technical education, side by side with the traditional specialised proficiency certificates qualifying people for specific jobs, vocational certificates are awarded after basic training covering a number of trades and thus facilitating easier adaptation to changes in techniques and work organisation. Moreover, the recent reform project proposes the introduction of a continuous assessment of skills acquired by pupils. This would provide some of them with opportunities for transferring to general and technological education. While these tendencies may be observed in many countries (Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, for example) it is not always easy to know on what principles the definition of new areas of specialisation is based: in several cases (France, Germany) it is founded on an analysis of job functions, and in Sweden seems rather to refer to sectors of economic activity; main branches or families of occupations are taken into consideration. This concept, like that of comprehensive training, needs to be defined.(2)

A similar trend characterises systems of vocational education based on training within the firm; the severe and long-standing criticism of traditional apprenticeship has led to a reorganisation of the system in many countries (Germany, Austria, Denmark, France, Ireland, Switzerland). The reform introduced in Germany(3) is very significant and its provisions are largely similar to those

1) Despecialisation consists both in lessening the degree of specialisation and in reducing the number of specialisations which in traditional vocational schools are based on trades, which may have become outmoded or are inadequately taught.

2) The Report "Education and Division of Labour" Vol. 4, Project 1, Plan Europe 2000 , Chapter 6, distinguishes two types of "comprehensive training" which are largely complementary:
   i) development of the ability to solve problems, the capacity to abstract and an intellectual approach to technological problems;
   ii) a common type of training for a group of skilled occupations calling for similar knowledge and know-how, so that an individual may change jobs within this group.

3) Manpower Policy in Germany, OECD, Paris, 1974, p. 64.

introduced in other countries (for example in France, under the Act of 1971). First of all the reform has a pedagogical aspect aimed at improving the quality of education: by co-ordinating and balancing general school education with training inside the firm, or by reinforcing general education; by providing a year of basic training, increasing the weekly period of study (from 6 to 8-12 hours), introducing basic socio-economic concepts, etc. On the other hand, this reform has a social dimension and is designed to improve the occupational and educational status of the learner within the firm. The obligations of firms and compliance with the terms of contracts are increasingly controlled by the public authorities. This supervision covers work required from the apprentice, relationships between tasks and the training given, qualifications of instructors, equipment in the firm's workshops or training facilities, and wage payments. Finally, the process of obtaining the qualification has been so modified as to provide for training by stages, thus allowing for possible changes of orientation leading to progressive specialisation and to skills covering a wider field than the traditional trade.

These changes have not meant that all problems have been solved. The new needs for qualified manpower which these reforms should meet are not clearly understood. Vocational education is now faced with changes in the educational system - the result being a higher level of the pupils' general knowledge - and also with changes in the working world. For this reason, the trend towards more broadly based training, preparation for groups of trades and less practical training has not always met the needs of firms or employers' expectations. On the one hand, vocational training establishments seem to have increasing difficulty in keeping abreast of rapid technological progress and in obtaining up-to-date equipment. On the other, firms are often poorly equipped to provide practical instruction during placements, to link it to that given in schools and hence to offer consistent training courses.

Whereas in most European Member countries a strengthening of general education (the role of the school) may be noted in preparing young people for working life, an opposite trend is found in the United States. In that country, where the comprehensive secondary school is in a monopolistic position and promotes a largely common type of general education, there is a movement which is beginning to favour preparation for working life and increased participation by other insitutions (particularly private firms) in the provision of educational experience for young people. This trend, which was noted in the various reports of the Advisory Council on Vocational Education, has been particularly marked since the adoption in 1971 of curricula promoting "career education" by the

United States Office of Education.(1) Its aim is to give all young people about to enter working life the kind of training which will not only enable them to perform their tasks efficiently, but provide them with information, guidance, a knowledge of the working world and lay the ground for continuing education throughout their career. This concept is much wider than that of vocational training and its field of application extends beyond secondary education since it covers all levels of departure from the school system and may take place outside the school; tests in certain institutions or school districts have led to extensive changes in curricula and guidance mechanisms.

The "Career Education" programme outside the school has given rise to limited experiments, which people widely challenge by pointing to the results of earlier projects dealing with educational experience acquired in working life ("Learning at Work") or alternation between school and work (work-study programmes).

e) Alternating education and employment

Under the heading of alternation various ways are proposed for juxtaposing or combining post-compulsory studies with other occupations or community services. Part-time study for pupils who receive a complementary practical training in a firm may represent supplementary or predominant (apprenticeships) training - these two forms constitute the traditional types of alternating studies. The same is true for the general curricula offered to young workers ("participative education" in the Netherlands; evening courses at the Folk High Schools in the Scandinavian countries). These types of courses are very different from the alternating education marked by a succession of training periods followed by long periods of vocational activity and consistent with recurrent education strategy. Proposals recently put forward in several Member countries for alternating the activities of young people stand midway between these two concepts, but have for the most part been only little tested and remain very controversial.(2) They seek to achieve with the help of this scheme such specific objectives as co-ordination, continuity and satisfactory transition between study and work, bringing the school close to the working world, the life and problems of society, upgrading or promoting opportunities for acquiring educational experience in places other than educational institutions (the private firm, government and community services, leisure activities, etc.).

1) S. P. Marland - Essays on Career Education, Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, Portland, 1973.

2) On the subject of higher education there is a very detailed inventory of current experiences and a discussion of the problems involved in B. Girod de L'Ain, L'enseignement Supérieur en Alternance, La Documentation Française, Paris, 1974.

Such provisions should limit the hold of the school over adolescents or at least avoid extension of the school system and of full-time schooling to all young people, encourage them to acquire practical experience, to obtain a job and, by offering opportunities for return, encourage the process of recurrent education. The aim of several proposals is to break up the continuity of the educational process (in particular at the end of secondary education or during higher education), by providing two years of paid education to be used any time during life (the Carnegie Commission's "two years' credit in the bank") or educational leave, encouraging "stop out", admitting into higher education people who have held a job as according to formula 25-5 introduced in Sweden, one year's "community service" for all higher education candidates in Portugal, etc. Other proposals, mainly put forward in the United States, envisage - often on the pattern of "sandwich courses" in Britain - a certain institutionalisation or alternation at post-compulsory level; another aim, on the basis of a critical analysis of school operation, is to encourage the redistribution or division of educational functions among various institutions: the schools would develop intellectual abilities while the economic and social sectors would provide complementary practical experience and allow people to acquire fresh know-how.(1)

1) Economic institutions (private firms and public administrations) would be able to provide some educational experience by designing certain tasks and jobs. Such programmes which are intended for the less successful pupils in secondary schools exist in most of the Provices of Canada. In Alberta, for example, there has been a programme of pre-employment for pupils in the last two years of study since 1970. It combines employment and study and concerns about 5,000 students only because of the limited number of places offered. This vocational experience is considered as a study option and is included in the evaluation of performance (5 credits). The students work 125 hours per semester in a firm and are paid the modest sum of $1 per hour. The arrangement is sanctioned by a contract between the employer, the school and the administration and parental consent is required.(2) In the United States, "Career Education" programmes have been planned in firms and the Coleman Report(3) has set out a list of recommendations while proposing the development of formulas already existing in the United States and abroad such as alternating half-years (or quarters) or juxtaposing half-day study

1) J. S. Coleman, How do the Young Become Adults? Phi Delta Kappan, December 1972.

2) G. Neil Perry, Insertion of Young into Working Life in Canada, OECD, mimeo.

3) Youth: Transition to Adulthood, op. cit. p. 157.

periods with full-time employment; (co-operative education programmes, work experience and career exploration programmes, etc.)(1) Many problems still remain to be solved before going beyond the experimental stage: from an educational point of view it is necessary to reorganise the school year and introduce courses ensuring continuity with job activities; in private firms or in public services both employers and trade unions will have to be associated with these initiatives, encouraged to provide this educational function, to create the facilities for acquiring practical experience at work and to finance these efforts. According to some authorities(2), such conditions cannot be fulfilled, either because work organisation and profitability considerations will not allow it, or because taking on these young people would lead to dismissals of adult workers; furthermore such proposals seem to be difficult to reconcile with the screening role or prevention of unemployment which the school is called upon to play; finally, any heavier contribution by young people to activities producing goods and services is claimed to run counter to the interests of society. For this reason it has been proposed that such extra-curricular educational experiences be organised "in the neglected sectors of social services"(2) and thus help to resolve certain social problems(3).

ii) Are social services the best institutions for acquiring practical experience complementing school abilities? Many experiments controlled by schools have been conducted in the United States and Canada, where pupils and students devote a part of their time to fulfilling functions in various social services run by the State or by local authorities (child care, assistance to low-income families, elderly or handicapped persons, looking after young delinquents or retarded children, protection of the environment, consumer information, the organisation of local educational or recreational activities and television programmes) while also sharing in the study of problems, the submission of recommendations and their implementation. Programmes for young volunteers called to work in developing countries or in civic services or on construction sites, which in certain countries (Germany) are substitutes for certain military obligations, are other examples. But the extension of any such programme raised many problems much like those which would face private firms. Furthermore, they require, particularly at the local level where most of them have to be carried out, the creation of new services, the co-ordination of activities between services, a financial

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1) G. Neil Perry, Insertion of Young into Working Life in Canada, OECD, mimeo.

2) D. W. Brison. "Restructuring the School System", Interchange, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1972.

3) J. A. B. MacLeish, Youth and Community Service, OECD, mimeo.

commitment, staffing by certain specialists. Yet local authorities do not always have the means to supply these services. Such proposals should however be borne in mind.

4. Improving opportunities for entry into working life(1)

Proposals made to ease the transition between school and employment and improve the entry of young people into working life have been many. Some of these, which have been partly put into effect, have not always had the hoped for results. Nor can an inventory of specific measures relating to young people afford any more than a partial view of the employment policies which should be introduced to facilitate entry into working life.(1) In a very general way - and without reverting to the reforms of educational and training structures mentioned in the preceding paragraphs - these measures concern two fields of action which are as follows:

i) Changes in the structure of productive activities and jobs offered. The refusal of certain kinds of work in industry and the desire to make available jobs which correspond to the tastes and aspirations of workers with a higher level of education, lead both to the reorganisation of working conditions and the creation of new employment opportunities. The planning of working conditions meets the desire to relate the motivations of young people to their usefulness in society and to change the negative image which young people have of certain productive activities. This attempt to humanise work has caused new forms of work organisation to be tested and introduced which concern the entire working population but to which young people attach a particular importance: more flexible work schedules, job enrichment, increased job autonomy and responsibility, the closer matching of grades of skill and authority, working in self-contained teams, etc.(2)
These measures might not however be sufficient in a context of lower work intensity and access to the labour market of better educated workers. The public authorities, in response to any urgent demand, are likely to consider a redistribution of resources and the creation of employment

1) For an examination in depth of these questions reference should be made to the report of the Secretariat entitled Entry of Young People into Working Life. The Report of the Secretary-General's Ad Hoc Group - Education and Working Life in Modern Society - contains significant recommendations on these points.

2) All these innovations have been analysed within the framework of activities conducted under the OECD's Labour-Management Programme, particularly at the International Conference on Work in a Changing Industrial Society (15-18th October, 1974).
See also Recommendation I: Education and Working Life, op. cit.

opportunities for young people (full-time but especially part-time or temporary jobs)(1) rather than finance long courses of instruction or pay unemployment benefits.

ii) Such an initiative could lead to a revision of present policy such as to extend social measures in favour of young people seeking employment or holding their first job, the aims of which would be many. Young people would thus be protected against certain risks (unemployment, illness), be guaranteed an income, granted certain rights (e.g. educational leave) and given incentives to work(2) or to promote geographical mobility.

D. CLOSING REMARKS

In the second part of this report on Options beyond Compulsory Schooling, an attempt has been made to outline a number of problems in some Member countries with regard to the reform of second-cycle secondary education structures. The first thing to remember is that the problems with which secondary schools are confronted do not boil down to simple institutional dysfunctions but need to be analysed in relation to young people's social situation, the other possibilities open to them and the changes that have taken place in their behaviour and their expectations. For this reason, the authorities responsible for dealing with these problems will find increasingly that they have to rethink the goals of this educational level in relation to the objectives pursued by other social institutions or sectors and, in particular, in the fields of the entry into working life and the employment of young people and post-school training. Changes in second-cycle secondary education should therefore form one of the main aspects of a policy designed to make it easier for young people to take their place in society.

The pursuit of such a social objective leads to the adoption of the common principles on which the reform policies applied to educational structures at this level are based. One of these common principles is aimed at the introduction of variety in the options offered (in both education and jobs), with broad facilities for alternating and combining these options, and at the promotion of far more flexible teaching structures and modes of access and transfer. This would seem well calculated to increase individual opportunities and freedom of choice and to bring about new orientations and re-orientations in tune with the aspirations of young people.

1) See Recommendations 6, 10, 15 and 16: Education and Working Life, op. cit.

2) See Recommendations 2, 6, 8 and 9: Education and Working Life, op. cit.

General principles of this kind make it necessary to set new goals for this level of education and to envisage new types of relationships between society and young people and between educational institutions and students. On the first point, a significant aspect is the growing frequency with which reference is made to the increased responsibility of society and to the fact that it should be in a position to guarantee young people continuous access to education and to prepare and assist their entry into working life. At the level of the institutions, reform schemes recommend increased student independence and participation, more personalised teaching, new modes of teacher-student relationships and greater use of "replacement systems" rather than the traditional model based on the classroom, and imposed and identical rates of learning. These statements imply that it would be desirable to increase the number of experiments that are often exemplary but marginal to the system of education, and for which there is no indication of how the innovations could be broadcast or taken into general use and the possible obstacles that might be encountered.

Reorganisation of study structures seems to be an essential condition though not sufficient of itself for the implementation of these radical changes. A number of common or constant trends to be found in reform schemes at this level of education may be summarised as follows:

i) Diversification of options at the end of compulsory education and the offer of choices which are real ones requires, in countries where structures are still strongly differentiated, a change in first-cycle secondary curricula and the abolition of selection mechanisms (or at least a considerable modification of their effects). Many questions about types of teaching organisation remain unanswered.

ii) The setting up of new educational structures linked to a large range of possible jobs or extra-educational community activities, means discarding the possibility of extending the compulsory school age beyond 16. Nevertheless, the importance of providing vocational training and/or offering everyone the right to continue education beyond that age means that specific measures and alternatives, better designed to meet the requirements of young people and to achieve the social goals related to entry into working life to equalising opportunities have to be envisaged.

iii) At second-cycle secondary level, the need to break down the rigid distinctions and hierarchies of prestige among the various schools and curricula call, in most cases, for a single institutional framework and the development of a new type of common educational establishment.

iv) The wide variety of student population, in tastes, aptitudes and aspirations, and the concern to offer a wide range of choice and career paths means that considerable diversity has to be offered in the internal structure of studies, in types of curricula offered and in teaching methods; they must also fit into widely differing patterns, which it is difficult to classify.

v) The merging of the contents of education and the breaking down of the traditional dichotomy and rigid compartmentalisation between general education and vocational training tends to encourage efforts to integrate the two in various ways, though such efforts seem to be faced with many difficulties.

vi) Attempts to restructure and integrate make it necessary to redefine the terms of general education and vocational training. Many attempts are being made to revise the latter with the object of minimising narrow specialisation and defining broader fields of training covering families of occupations, or strengthening theoretical and general knowledge to make retraining and further development easier. In order to assist the changeover between school and the first job there is a tendency to increase transitional vocational training and to modernise its traditional forms, such as apprenticeship. But changes in the content of this type of training or in the status of apprentices meet with considerable resistance, aggravated by the difficulty of finding out about employers' requirements in the way of skills and providing what they want.

vii) Lastly, the recommendations included in most reform schemes to open up the school to life and the community, and to establish more flexible though tighter links between education and the world of work are the substance of a great number of proposals. The provision of facilities for part-time or temporary training courses and jobs (or training periods) is one way of breaking down the barriers between the various activities or types of social experience. The development of various patterns for combining or alternating study with work or a social service activity has been the basis of many experiments, but the possibilities of extending them seem limited.

This list of trends common to most proposals for the structural reform of second-cycle secondary education fails to take account of all the problems that arise. The explicit reference to plans for reforming the teaching organisation tends to favour the existing structural framework to the detriment of the problems of content,

curricula and methods, which - save in very general terms - are rarely referred to in the proposals and yet it is at this level that the real changes take place. Similarly, questions involving the internal functioning of educational institutions and the practical conditions of co-ordination between education and employment policies are rarely tackled in reform proposals. All these problems would therefore need further investigation concurrently with the study and evaluation of the application of the reforms. It would be wrong, however, not to point out a number of problems facing these strategies for change.

i) The adoption of new standards for the internal functioning of secondary schools is proving to be a crucial and controversial point in terms of: criteria of access to secondary education; methods of evaluating performance and results and the value accorded to these results in determining subsequent options (particularly as regards access to higher studies). Admittedly, reform plans do include proposals designed to make these regulations more flexible. In some countries (Norway and Sweden) a new functional model which replaces merit criteria by teaching involving continuous guidance based on different rules is being discussed: the pupil has a wide freedom of choice in deciding what he should study, free access to this educational level and subsequent transfers; marking, tests and examinations are practically non-existent; value is given to non-academic skills and access to higher education is available regardless of earlier results, etc. This approach is an all-out challenge to the system of values reflecting the dominant meritocracy ideology. The problem of compatibility between the selection function emphasized at this educational level by the importance attached to terminal certificates and preparation for higher studies(1) on the one hand and the equalising principles on which many structural reform proposals are based on the other therefore remains unsolved.

ii) The functioning of the arrangements for educational and vocational guidance appears to encounter major obstacles and in many countries the nature and aims of guidance are still very vague. Yet, if it is recommended that considerable liberty and a wide range of options be provided at the end of compulsory basic education, it seems self-evident that information and guidance activities will have to play a

1) These problems are not raised in the report. They are the subject of studies made in the framework of the Education Committee's programme of work for 1975 and 1976 regarding selection, certification and admission to higher studies.

decisive role. The guidance problem cannot therefore, be treated separately from structural policies for education, employment and incomes. It is a problem which persists throughout the educational process and entry into working life and, in dealing with it the changing ideas that young people have about their working future must be taken into account.

In recent years, major reforms of guidance have been introduced by many Member countries, e.g. in France and Sweden since 1970. Their primary objective is to co-ordinate the sometimes discrete goals and resources of educational and vocational guidance services, to ensure continuity between the processes of education and educational guidance, to increase the number of links between the guidance services and employment services for young people, and between the latter and the employers' recruitment services. These reforms have involved the use of material and human resources: the setting up or extension of information and guidance services at national, regional and local level; the recruitment and training of specialised personnel (counsellors, psychologists and teachers), the collection and distribution of information on courses available and the resulting vocational opportunities and job vacancies, visits to and training periods in firms, etc.

The operation, integration and co-ordination of the efforts of all these services are a necessary, although not always sufficient, condition for satisfactory career guidance. Firstly, in a context where choices become more complicated, some young people do not take advantage of these services in spite of intensive efforts to inform them. But above all, orientation may well be ineffective unless it corresponds to real choices and unless education and employment structures are sufficiently flexible to allow a series of choices, changes of orientation and re-entries. That most structural arrangement should propose to integrate education and employment, and increasingly combine or alternate such activities, is an essential requisite for the effective operation of the guidance facilities.

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